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11 FEBRUARY 1987

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE HELD IN MOSCOW

LD161937 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Text] Moscow, 16 Dec (TASS)--The members of the Soviet Law of the Sea Association stressed the need of forming an international body to regulate activities of states in using the sea bed. They did so at a conference, which opened in Moscow today, dealing with topical law of the sea questions. Apart from Soviet specialists, it is also attended by guests from Bulgaria, GDR, and Poland.

The question of forming such an international body is uppermost in the minds of lawyers of many countries, a TASS correspondent has been told by president of the association Anatoliy Kolodkin. The Reagan administration is trying unilaterally to resolve problems of the world ocean, despite the UN convention on the Law of the Sea, adopted in 1982 and signed by almost 160 countries, which announced that the seabed and its resources belong to the whole of mankind, he said. These attempts being made on the basis of U.S. national legislation are bringing in chaos and anarchy and are undermining international cooperation, said the Soviet scientist.

The U.S. administration refuses to accept the convention dated 1982, it favors "freedom of exploration and development of the seabed." U.S. monopolies prefer freedom of unilateral penetration to the wealth of the world ocean bed.

The study and development of the ocean and adjacent seas is now unthinkable without putting into life the principles of peaceful coexistence, without carrying out the policy of detente and ensuring the security of the nations, Kolodkin said. The use of their wealth in militaristic purposes is dangerous to the future of humanity. Special significance therefore acquire the initiatives of the USSR which proposed that an accord be reached to reduce military presence in areas of generally accepted sea lanes, and other proposals of the USSR aimed at ensuring peace in the world ocean and the seas.

/9604

CSO: 1812/35

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

REVIEW OF BOOK ON METHODS OF IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

Moscow KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE in Russian No 37, 12 Sep 86 p 3

[Article: "Cultural Imperialism"]

[Text] Doctor of Philosophical Science V. P. Agafonov's book "Cultural Imperialism without Makeup", issued by the Moscow Worker press in the "Library of Propaganda and Political Information" series, analyzes the expansionist politics of the United States and their NATO allies in countries that have thrown off the fetters of colonial slavery. The author reveals the methods and ways of imperialistic spiritual expansion, demonstrating imperialism's pernicious activities in various areas of life in the young states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We become acquainted with several facts and figures put forth in the pages of this edition.

The legacy of classical colonialism--it is not only the starvation of approximately 200 million inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but also the scandalous cultural backwardness of the population. For example, in Asia there are 42 million illiterates between the ages of 15 and 19, and 44 million between the ages of 20 and 24.

The annual circulation of books published in the African countries is less than one page per capita. The exchange of information flowing today from capitalist nations to the developing world is more than 100 times greater than the flow in the opposite direction.

The main press agencies and organs of the western nations monopolize the delivery of information for journals and newspapers in newly-liberated states. The situation is even more unfavorable for radio and television in these countries, where 90 percent of the broadcasts are of western origin. The western press agencies now achieve the same colonialist goals that during the imperial era were achieved by gunboats. There is forced recognition of many western political operatives, sociologists, and journalists.

The American Defense Department actively participates in "psychological warfare" against developing nations. According to the ARMED FORCES JOURNAL, there are more than 1,850 military publications in the United States, including more than 1,400 newspapers and journals. They are oriented not only to the U.S. Army, but

also to the wide officer circles in developing countries, and through them to the personnel of their armed forces. Besides this, the Pentagon makes wide use of civilian organizations, and public and private means of mass communication. The defense department regularly disseminates propaganda material for 1,700 daily newspapers.

Multi-national corporations expend considerable resources to win over specialists trained in developing countries. Thus, expenditures by developing nations on training specialists who emigrated to the United States, Great Britain, and Canada from 1961 to 1972 amounted to 46 billion dollars. This means that "importing" scholars, physicians, and engineers not only allows the three capitalist powers to recoup the "aid" they have earmarked for developing countries; they also reap a profit of 5 billion dollars.

1308G/12859

CSO: 1807/039

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

RESPONSES TO PRAVDA QUERY ON DIRECT ECONOMIC TIES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 86 p 4

[Responses to PRAVDA questionnaire from Ya. Macheyevich, Polish People's Republic minister of metallurgy and machine industry, and Yu. Shiryayev, USSR Academy of Sciences member and correspondent, and director of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, reported by PRAVDA correspondents O. Losoto and A. Krushinskiy under the rubric "Direct Lines: A PRAVDA Questionnaire": "Not an Addition--an Increase"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] With this article we continue publication of responses to a PRAVDA query put to prominent economists, party organizers and scientists from fraternal countries:

- 1) "What do you perceive are the advantages of direct collaboration?"
- 2) "What are the problems, in your view, that need to be solved in order to obtain the best effect from such direct ties?"

Ya. Macheyevich, Polish People's Republic minister of metallurgy and machine industry:

1) The development of "direct" international cooperation and collaboration between the scientific and production associations, enterprises and organizations of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic is one of the major thrusts in our effort to achieve the goals set by the high-level Economic Conference of CEMA Member States. Direct ties between work collectives can help considerably in speeding up the move towards intensified development within the economy. This will also have an effect on its efficiency, further increase the social product, raise our technical level, and increase the quality and variety of products. In addition, the demand within our own countries for high-quality consumer goods will be satisfied better, we will be able to maintain our technical and economic independence from the West more consistently, and finally, our export potential will start developing more dynamically.

Practice has already shown that the cycle "A New Development--Assimilation in Production" has accelerated to practically twice its original speed thanks to these forms of collaboration.

Furthermore, it is very important that while developing direct ties, collaboration between partners in enterprise take place more and more according to joint modernization and restructuring plans. Thus a power hydraulics plant in Lodz is proposed to satisfy the USSR's need for new production capacities to manufacture hydrodynamic transmissions for scrapers and loaders, and in doing so, will be assisted by a partner--the Machine Building Plant imeni Kalinin.

One of the more effective forms of "direct" collaboration is the joint design bureau for developing new types of machines and equipment. One such bureau was formed, for example, to develop an improved high-power crane design. This kind of interaction makes it possible to avoid duplication already during the developmental stage. It promotes an active exchange of experience, shortens the scientific research work period, and creates favorable conditions for unifying and standardizing units and components, which in turn creates good conditions for production cooperation.

2) In addition to the organizational/legal and methodological documentation already developed within both countries, an important trend in the effort to improve the cooperation mechanism and increase its flexibility and efficiency should be to further expand the laws governing partner-enterprises in order to facilitate the prompt solution of problems arising from cooperation programs. In doing so, we must also ensure that enterprises become more punctual and responsible in carrying out their joint developments, as well as more responsible for the quality of the articles they produce cooperatively.

The creation of conditions that would stimulate the development of cooperation through direct production and scientific ties is not a simple task, but one that promises enormous advantages.

Yu. Shiryayev, USSR Academy of Sciences member and correspondent, and director of the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System:

1) Direct ties can be considered the mark of socialist economic integration in its present stage, and the principal channel for improving the integration mechanism.

Direct ties promise to do a great deal in terms of the main thrusts of international cooperation established by the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress: electronization of the national economy, comprehensive automation, accelerated development of atomic energy, and creation of new materials and biotechnologies. Who is better able to plan cooperation and achieve it through production than the producers and developers themselves! Take for example the creation of new forms of production through joint efforts. Of primary importance in achieving these new forms are mobile and flexible contacts that are in many ways different from traditional, extra-market operations. Direct ties between enterprises favor the transformation of international legal commitments into intranational tasks for specific parties of cooperative

agreements. In other words, they increase the reliability of inter-governmental cooperative agreements.

2) Problems often already begin with the selection of a partner, usually determined from above. Such a selection does not always turn out to be the best from the point of view of the capabilities of the enterprise. Partners joined together in this way often pursue different goals and have varying technical and industrial levels of productions. Sometimes too, the fact that selected pairs of partners have varying degrees of interest in international cooperation is not taken into consideration. Those that have established reliable production links within their own country are not so concerned about finding partners abroad. Lack of information also makes such a search difficult.

The question of determining prices for units and components delivered in both directions is also very complicated. One of the basic reasons for this are the substantial variations in production costs. This problem cannot be solved in a day. What is needed to solve the problem, of course, are joint efforts and mutual compromises. It is not enough to refer to world market criteria. This principle can be corrected for a certain period. The development of direct ties is also hampered by the insolvency of currency problems.

An indispensable condition for enterprises wishing to participate actively in the development of direct ties is implementation of full cost accounting of their interrelations.

One other very important point: More careful observance of mutual obligations established by partners of economic agreements is extremely important. It follows that in order to develop direct ties successfully, still more work must be done in each country to overcome the interruptions which still occur in the supply of material and equipment to enterprises, and to strengthen contractual discipline.

13206/9190
CSO: 1825/35

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

CEMA ECONOMIC INTEGRATION DEFENSE AGAINST BOURGEOIS ATTACKS

[Editorial Report] Kishinev KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII in Russian No 2, February 1986 pp 76-83 published an article by A. Nikolskiy defending the system of international socialist economic integration against attempts by the capitalist system to discredit it and divide the countries participating in it. The article, entitled "Socialist Economic Integration: Truth Against Lies," in particular rejects "bourgeois attacks" on the "most important" principle of socialist internationalism--the sovereignty of CEMA members--and attempts to "falsify" the role of the USSR in this system. The advantages of CEMA economic integration "for even so economically powerful a country as the USSR, as well as other members" are noted..

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INDONESIA: BOURGEOIS REFORMS, 'PANCASILA' IDEOLOGY CRITIQUED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 12-16

[Article by A. Yuryev: "Indonesia. Social Changes and Political Struggle"]

[Text] The date of 11 March 1966 occupies a special place on the political calendar of Indonesia today. This was the date on the document ("Order of 11 March 1966") in which former President Sukarno actually yielded his authority in public administration to the military. This event, the 20th anniversary of which was a major theme of official Indonesian propaganda this year, was not, strictly speaking, the date of the coup d'etat--this coup, which was gradual, began a few months earlier and ended only in 1967 with the complete removal of the president. The date of 11 March 1966, however, has become a symbol of the legislative record of the change of political regimes in Indonesia, the transfer of power from the nationalist-populist system of "guided democracy" headed by Sukarno to the "New Order," headed by army generals. The class implications of the event consisted in the elimination of forces supporting some form of socialist development (from scientific socialism to petty bourgeois populist socialism) from the legal political arena in Indonesia, and the arrival in the government of political representatives of groups with an interest in the unimpeded and accelerated advancement of the country along the capitalist road.

The fundamental weaknesses of the Indonesian national bourgeoisie gave the "New Order" two characteristics. First of all, for a long time the political vanguard of the Indonesian bourgeois class was the army, which had staged the coup d'etat and had then become the leading force and backbone of the new regime's power structure. The theory of the "dual function" of the army, according to which the latter is not only a purely military institution but is also expected to be the leading force in society, the "dynamo and stabilizer" of its development, provided the ideological grounds for the assignment of this role to the armed forces (or, more precisely, to the generals and officers).

Just as in several other emerging states, in Indonesia the assumption of power by the army leadership was the result of the incomplete process of class formation under the conditions of earlier colonial rule, and the weakness of the Indonesian bourgeoisie, unable to govern the country with the methods of classic bourgeois parliamentarianism. One obvious difference is that the

army in Indonesia, in contrast to some other countries with military regimes, does not pretend that its government is a provisional one and does intend to remain in power, in the words of General Bennie Murdani, the commander in chief of the armed forces, "for all of the future history of the Indonesian nation's struggle." Incidentally, this thesis was the underlying theme of the majority of official statements and publications connected with the anniversary of the "Order of 11 March."

The second distinguishing feature of the situation was that the Indonesian bourgeoisie, even after it had seized political power with the army's help, did not feel strong enough to immediately declare its own class goals openly or to advance its own philosophy of social development. In the interest of social mimicry, a philosophy inherited from the period of "guided democracy" is being used--the philosophy of the "pancasila," the five principles, consisting of belief in one God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy based on consultation and representation (or consensus), and social justice.

These principles, with their extremely broad meaning and broad range of possible interpretations, became the only legally authorized philosophy as a result of legislation pushed through the parliament in 1985. An editorial in the 11 March 1986 issue of ANGKATAN BORSENDJATA, the semiofficial military organ, called the passage of this law the greatest achievement in the development of the Indonesian nation, government and society in the last 20 years. Several legislative acts and government directives have excluded the possibility of any discussions or publications questioning the essence of "pancasila" and its applicability to the current stage of the Indonesian society's development, and the government has actually reserved the sole right to interpret the state ideology and determine the means of its implementation.

A theory of the development of the Indonesian society was also inherited from the regime of "guided democracy," alleging that class differences and antagonism and the exploitation of one person by another do not exist in this society. The "pancasila" have also given birth to "pancasila democracy" and the "pancasila economy." The first assigns priority to the maintenance of political stability in the country and, to this end, forbids or restricts all forms of expression of alternatives to official views on the fundamental problems of the Indonesian society and government. The logical result of this is the restriction of the functions of representative organs and parties and the expansion of the prerogatives of the executive branch and extraconstitutional bodies.

An excerpt from an article in the 7 January 1986 issue of the same military newspaper, ANGKATAN BORSENDJATA, is indicative in this respect: "We must fight against the popular opinion that the mechanism of representation here does not have enough influence because it does not have the necessary legislative potential and a thorough knowledge of the problems facing us. The caution which often motivates (representative organs--A. Yu.) to refrain from expressing their views is not a result of this weakness, but of political conditions and the balance of power based on the pancasila and the 1945 constitution."

In the economic sphere the concept of the "pancasila economy" apparently stems from Article 33 of the national constitution, which says, in particular, that the economic structure is based "on joint actions in line with the family principle." It goes on to say that sectors of the greatest importance to the state and the public should be controlled by the state. Official interpretations of this article say that it "lays the foundation for economic democracy, in which production is carried out by all and for all under the guidance or supervision of members of society. Public welfare, and not the well-being of individuals, is the highest consideration."

This is an extremely brief description of the philosophical and political characteristics of the regime which began governing Indonesia after 1966. It seems to us that one of its objective social functions consists in using all methods accessible to the army to promote the growth of broader and deeper capitalist relations by protecting the entrepreneurial class, especially its entire bourgeois-bureaucratic substratum, from all types of opposition, primarily democratic movements, and from demonstrations by the laboring public, whose strong anticapitalist feelings have been upheld as traditions since the time of the anti-imperialist revolution.

In the narrow class sense, the "New Order" regime performed this function, and this is noted, in particular, in L. F. Ivanova's article "The Formation and Growth of the Grand Bourgeoisie in the Indonesian 'Open Economy.'"* The author lists dozens of large industrial capitalist companies which came into being and developed in the last two decades as a result of close interaction by the local traditional bourgeoisie, the nouveau riche from the military bureaucracy, the strong substratum of local businessmen of Chinese origin and the foreign transnational corporations which rushed into Indonesia after laws encouraging this were passed in 1967.

We cannot deny that the combination of the "oil boom" of the 1970's and this period of accelerated capitalist development (and it was all the more noticeable since it began from almost the starting point in the 1960's) led to the perceptible growth of the country's economic potential and the rapid growth of the bourgeois class.

The class differences engendered by the growth of capitalist relations and capitalist modernization gave rise to several processes conflicting with the social policy of the "New Order," with its authoritarian nature. The military leadership's biggest problem today is the Muslim opposition, with its extremely heterogeneous composition and the diverse class and political goals of the forces making it up. This aspect of Indonesian public life has been described in detail by L. M. Yefimova.**

* "Burzhuaziya i sotsialnaya evolyutsiya stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka" [The Bourgeoisie and the Social Evolution of Foreign Eastern Countries], Moscow, 1985.

** L. Yefimova, "Islam in Indonesian Sociopolitical Affairs," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1985, No 11.

Here we will confine ourselves to the ascertainment of the fact that religion (and this means Islam for almost 90 percent of the Indonesians) is the only unproscribed ideology in Indonesia today in which people can seek an alternative to the realities of the embourgeoised, army-controlled society. For this reason, dissident sermons in mosques appeal to nationalists, who are dissatisfied with the pervasive Western culture, the dominant position of transnational corporations, the discrediting of traditional spiritual and ethical values and the increasing influence of the Chinese minority in national economics and politics, to the young intelligentsia, dissatisfied with the army's stubborn refusal to institute more representative forms of government, and, finally, to the urban and rural poor, who are being crushed by poverty and by the arbitrary practices of government officials and employers--both military and civilian, whether they are natives or people of Chinese or Western origins.

In addition, there are two horizontal strata in the Muslim movement--the bourgeois-landowner elite and the democratic masses--although the atmosphere of religious solidarity makes it difficult to draw accurate distinctions between them. The highest stratum is not dissatisfied with the social order or even with the political system, but with its own place in this system, and it will agree to compromises with the authorities if it receives a large enough "piece" of the "pie" of profits and participation in government, the pie that is now being enjoyed almost solely by the military. For the masses, on the other hand, Islam is an expression of their spontaneous democratic and egalitarian aspirations, which they still cannot express in terms of any other philosophy for various reasons. This is the cause of the internally contradictory nature of the Muslim movement.

In recent years the government has been able to sharply diminish the legal potential of the Muslims as an organized political force by promoting the disintegration of the Islamic United Development Party. But it is still too early to see whether this will neutralize the Muslim opposition or will simply encourage new extremist actions. The series of terrorist acts in recent years and the more frequent reports of the exposure of underground organizations advocating the creation of a theocratic Islamic state in Indonesia would seem to support the latter possibility.

At the same time, we can only wonder whether the Muslim opposition is capable of doing anything more than simply serving as a channel for the expression of sociopolitical discontent and the satisfaction of the obvious nostalgia for the patriarchal pre-capitalist days. In other words, is it capable of advancing a group of positive ideas, representing a real alternative to the status quo, without causing regression?

Commenting on the relative success of the United Development Party in the 1977 elections, the Jakarta journal PRISM remarked that religion and religious leaders had played a much greater role in this success than the programs offered to the masses. This factor is simultaneously a source of the strengths and weaknesses of the Muslims: After all, religion, the journal remarked, "can be relied on only as a magnetic force attracting votes, but not in more practical matters." In an article in the 30 May 1986 issue of PELITA, Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of the Nahdatul-'Ulama Party, admitted that the Islamic

solidarity in the country extends only to such general problems as moral degradation, the pervasive foreign culture and so forth. There is a need, he stressed, for common views on issues of greater vital importance to the existence of the nation--such as the construction of a more democratic society in the future, the establishment of stronger law and order, a healthier relationship between the rights of society and of its individual members to express their opinions, and so forth. It is easy to see that common views are lacking precisely in the area of a positive political and social program.

To a certain extent, this also applies to the elitist opposition group that took shape in the late 1970's. Its members occupied a variety of prominent political, state and military positions during various stages of the republic's history--from rightwing Muslim leader M. Natsyr, who was the prime minister of the country in 1950 and 1951, to leftwing nationalist and Sukarnoist M. Sofian, and from General Darsono, who commanded the West Java military district during the anti-Sukarno campaign of 1965-1967, to General Ali Sadikin of the Marines, who has remained loyal to the overthrown president through all of the reversals of history and his own career in recent decades. The most prominent figure in this group is General A. H. Nasution, once one of the most intransigent opponents of the former head of state.

The reasons for their opposition are also quite diverse. For some it was the wounded pride of an old military campaigner disregarded by his more fortunate colleagues, and for others it was the belated realization of the real implications of the events of 1965-1967. (General Nasution and some others apparently believed that the removal of leftist forces from the political arena would rid the Indonesian society of class conflicts, antagonism and so forth. They regard the realities of the embourgeoised Indonesian society as a "betrayal" of the ideals of the coup.) Still others are demanding the observance of legality, the constitution and the "pancasila" principles, but without applying these categories to the fate of the half-million people killed in 1965-1967 and the million and a half communists and other democrats who were incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps. In other words, they are demanding exactly as much democracy as their own participation in government requires. Just as the Muslims, they cannot offer an alternative to Indonesian capitalism. If this activity disturbs the government, it is primarily because it could, even against the wishes of this opposition group, compound the social discontent of the masses, create the illusion of political leadership and eventually have a destabilizing effect. This danger turned out to be quite real when the group attempted to establish contacts with extremist Muslim circles. In essence, it was for this that General Darsono was brought to trial and sentenced to a long prison term.

When Indonesian officials discuss the political situation in the country and the potential threats to internal stability, they invariably put the "communist threat" at the top of the list, followed by "other extremists," referring primarily to opposition Muslims operating outside the legal structure. Finally, they are making more frequent references to the threat posed by "liberal thinking." It was specifically mentioned by General Amir Machmud, chairman of the parliament, when he received a youth delegation in early February this year. Liberal thinking usually means a belief in Western bourgeois

parliamentary standards, including such attributes as a certain degree of political pluralism, the accountability of the cabinet to the parliament, and so forth.

Reports in the Indonesian press in recent years indicate the formation of a bourgeois liberal current in the broadest sense of the term, a current counter-ing official ideology with its own philosophy, "pancasila democracy" with its own political platform, and the "pancasila economy" with its own economic program. The main organ of this group is KOMPAS, a newspaper expressing the views of Catholic entrepreneurial groups, in which Chinese members of the bourgeoisie occupy an influential position. This alternative is still only a tendency, but it seems quite significant in the Indonesian context. In essence, it suggests that the economic and technological modernization of the country should be followed by the modernization--that is, the liberalization--of the political system.

A KOMPAS editorial on 11 March last year stated: "The government which has been in power for the last 19 years must realize the need for reforms. Otherwise, it will become satiated and will lose its bearings and its ability to make correct decisions and express the interests that occasionally come into being within the regime, as in the case of any form of government." Behind this tirade, it is easy to see the claim of the bourgeoisie, which has grown strong under the wing of the "New Order," to more direct participation in government. There is the suggestion of a complaint that the government treats businessmen like an officer treats soldiers, and that it would not be a bad idea to view businessmen as the government's equal partners.

There are signs that the increasingly influential bourgeoisie is beginning to feel the oppressive weight of the official ideology with its populist origins. The theorists of the Indonesian bourgeois class sometimes dare to make quite candid statements about the "pancasila," particularly with regard to their incompatibility with free enterprise. One of them, Kristianto Wibisono, the director of the Indonesian Commercial Information Center, bluntly declared: "The main issue in national economics does not consist in counterproductive discussions of the semantic aspects of obsolete slogans, especially the utopian and fine-spirited ideals concealed behind the lofty title 'pancasila.' It is time to give these principles meaning, to take action and to gradually carry them out. And when we reach the point of their actual implementation, we will have to make policies based on reality. The talk about cooperation, the equalization of income and other wonderful things with no practical or institutional reinforcement has been going on too long."

Poorly concealed ridicule of the social mimicry of the "New Order" was present in an article by economist Kuik Kuang Gi, the chairman of the board of the Prasetia Mulia production management institute. He believes that the economic system based on the "pancasila" principles and differing from all existing systems in the world, including capitalism and socialism, is nothing other than an impracticable utopia with a dash of nihilism.

Liberals express the same views on a matter of particular pride to the military leadership--the slogan of the "simple life," instructing the wealthy

classes to avoid a pretentious lifestyle and "not display their wealth to the poor majority." This is an attempt to conceal the pronounced social differences engendered by capitalist development. The authors of an article in the 16 January 1986 issue of KOMPAS employ the terminology of capitalist political economics to demonstrate the groundlessness of this slogan by noting that a reduction in the consumption of the wealthy strata will lead to ruin and unemployment for those engaged in the trades, industry and services. "When we appeal for moderation, we are essentially trying to avert social envy.... It is engendered primarily by the existence of privileges stemming from title, status and position or from what society perceives as such."

This was a direct attack on the members of the military elite who become involved in commercial activity with the backing of the advantages stemming from the army's status as the ruling group. It was a blunt demand for the liberalization of the economic system, free competition and the elimination of extraeconomic privileges. (For the sake of accuracy, we must say that the appeal for moderation is regarded with concealed skepticism even in military circles. The wife of Admiral Soedomo, the former chief of the security service, frankly admitted in an interview in AKTUIL magazine in June 1979: "I do not even know what the simple life is.... If we must accommodate ourselves to someone else, this is hypocrisy. After all, each person has his own destiny.")

Contrasting its interests to the official concept of the "pancasila economy," private business wants the removal of even the purely formal stipulations impeding its development according to the patterns set by the laws of capitalism. Participants in a symposium organized at the beginning of 1985 by the Indonesian Union of Young Businessmen (HIPMI) and the Union of National Private Banks (PERBANAS) concluded that Indonesia's penetration of world markets will necessitate the development of a system of monopolies and oligopolies. The abovementioned Wibisono has asked the president to promote the creation of large capitalist corporations similar to the one headed by Lim Xiu Liong, one of the world's top dozen bankers. He bluntly taught the head of state how to defend the interests of local business, without paying much attention to the traditions of etiquette: "The Bina Graha (the president's office building--A. Yu.) seems too grand and too important to confine its functions to the distribution of cows and other domestic livestock among villages. It should be the military headquarters from which the president directs the economic war on neomercantilism.... It is precisely the Bina Graha that must perform the high moral duty of coordinating the operations of total economic war against the neomercantilism preached by the United States, Japan and Europe." Incidentally, the demand for the defense of national business against the activities of transnational corporations in Indonesia is still not a major theme in the statements of representatives of private big business in the country.

Much more emphasis is now being placed on direct participation by businessmen in the political leadership of the country, and on the creation of opportunities for them to influence government policy directly. Different opinions have been expressed with regard to how strong and radical this influence could be. Indonesian sociologist Arif Budiman, for example, believes that local businessmen and the growing middle class could, as their position grows

stronger, generate democratic changes in national politics (by analogy with the events in the Philippines, where, in Budiman's opinion, the middle class was the driving force of the anti-Marcos movement). He also says, however, that even if the Indonesian middle class should express democratic aspirations, it will do this only to the degree that this democracy will serve its own interests, and "it is doubtful whether this would hasten the construction of a just and prosperous society in the country" (the declared aim of official ideology).

Of course, it is just as futile to speak of the construction of a society of social justice under the aegis of the liberal bourgeoisie as of its creation under the conditions of the "New Order." But even in matters pertaining to political democratization, the liberals make much more cautious and much milder statements than when the conversation turns to the class interests of the bourgeoisie. For example, a KOMPAS editorial of 19 March 1986 commented: "Along with forums where everything is discussed clearly and concisely (this is an obvious reference to the military style of speech--A. Yu.), we obviously need forums where we can raise any question, express opinions and engage in the more open, critical and constructive discussion of problems." This is the roundabout way in which the desire for freedom of speech is expressed. The military bureaucracy with its rigid structure and privileges is hampering business, and the abovementioned Wibisono stressed at one symposium: "A program of democratization is an essential condition for effective public administration through constitutional institutions.... Effectiveness in business is heavily dependent on the bureaucracy, and democracy is the only way of controlling the bureaucracy."

The differences between the positions of the bourgeois liberals and the military leaders can be viewed, so to speak, in two contexts. On the one hand, the army leadership believes it would be inadvisable to publicize the real class goals of the state, to expand public participation in politics and to strengthen the representative nature of government, and feels that the internal conflicts in the Indonesian society are so acute that lifting the lid of the pot could lead to serious upheavals. The liberals, on the other hand, believe that some democratization of public affairs will accelerate national development and at least diminish the severity of these conflicts. Commenting on the events of early 1986 in the Philippines, the 2 March 1986 issue of KOMPAS stated the main conclusion it had drawn from these events: "The middle class is capable of offering an alternative for the renewal of sociopolitical affairs in a country without accompanying these changes with bloodshed." This conclusion agrees with the statements in the same newspaper that the greatest threat to any political regime is engendered within it as a result of the abuse of power and the degeneration of the machinery of state (this was a direct reference to Haiti and to the Philippines).

This is actually a direct appeal to the military to make room at the helm for the civilian bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the liberal press has even gone so far as to raise the question of the parliament's right to oversee the activities of the president and the government--a premise which is not, strictly speaking, recorded in the constitution and which is regarded by the military as a dangerous heresy. In general, however, the liberals have been quite cautious in

broaching the subject of public participation in politics even through constitutional organs. This is due to a reluctance to come into conflict with the ruling army group in this crucial matter, and to the bourgeoisie's instinctive fear of the democratic masses (although at least part of the urban population would sympathize with the liberalization slogans). There is also a specific consideration: It is apparently easier for the influential Chinese segment of the local bourgeoisie to find a common language with the military elite than with the broad Indonesian strata with strong anti-Chinese feelings and prejudices.

The second context in which the conflicts between the liberals and generals can be viewed consists in the reluctance of the ruling group to change the conditions of its own regime, which gives it the ability to stifle competitors in the business sphere. The winner in free competition is the strongest, and the strongest is most likely to be the Chinese bourgeoisie, which will disrupt the present symbiosis. For this reason, the armed forces (or, more precisely, their generals), which now represent the only real source of political initiative in the country, are making every effort to maintain the status quo and to secure its unconditional continuity.

This desire was particularly apparent during the campaign connected with the 20th anniversary of the "Order of 11 March," which obviously received new and strong inspiration from the events in the Philippines. General Murdani, the commander in chief of the armed forces, addressed a seminar at that time, listing the main criteria for the evaluation of present and future developments. He topped the list with the need to maintain political stability and prevent the growth of liberal, Marxist and other views "denying the uniqueness" of the Indonesian nation.

In general, the military leadership of Indonesia drew its own conclusions from the events in the neighboring country, essentially stressing the need to strengthen the position of the executive branch and expand its prerogatives even more (General Moerdiono, cabinet secretary, stressed at a seminar on the 20th anniversary of the "New Order" that "strong government" is one of the main elements of the constitutional system of Indonesia). Another conclusion was apparently the intention to continue securing conformity in political ideology. Finally, the leadership apparently concluded that the direct use of force has not exhausted its possibilities as a means of resolving social conflicts--tactical troop exercises entitled "Field Artillery Subunits in Operations To Safeguard Internal Security" were held near Jakarta, for example, at the beginning of March. The most astute observers in Jakarta, however, are calculating the degree to which these measures could be used as a substitute for long-overdue political reforms.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

U.S. ECONOMIC INFLUENCE, LIBERIA'S PRO-U.S. LEADER DOE SCORED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 22-24, 42

[Article by Yu. Kuznetsov: "Liberia: 'The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here'"]

[Excerpts] When I first arrived in Liberia, the cabdrivers, doormen and journalists in the capital spoke with pride about the changing appearance of their city, its rapid growth (it now has a quarter of a million inhabitants) and the beauty of its streets and parks. Even immigration officials, who are thought of, by virtue of their job, as inveterate formalists and "dried up old sticks," displayed extraordinarily sentimental feelings about the capital.

"How do you like Monrovia?" one of them asked me in his office, where I had gone for the compulsory registration procedure.

"Two or three hours did not give me enough time to take a good look at it," I admitted.

Without saying a word, the official took me by the hand, as if I were a child, led me out of the building, seated me in a car and, in violation of all his official duties, drove me around the city, showing me the sights, as if he were a tour guide.

"This is a new movie theater--the largest on the entire west African coast. Those are new ministerial buildings, and some are still not finished. They will be the most modern on the continent. There is the president's new palace.... The post office.... The most beautiful hotel in Monrovia--no, in all Africa. It took a huge amount of money to build...."

After the impromptu tour was over, he repeated his question.

"Yes, I am impressed!" I replied sincerely, without suspecting that there was another side to this glossy picture.

Liberia was declared a sovereign republic--the first on the continent--on 26 July 1847. As soon as the young state appeared on the map of Africa, the United States, England and France began fighting for influence in this country. Bold and assertive American capital got the better of its rivals, infiltrated all spheres of life in Liberia and assumed key positions in its economy.

From the end of the 1940's on, President William Tubman, his True Whig Party* and the majority of Americo-Liberians, who supported the president's "open-door" policy, actively assisted the American corporations in the conquest of their homeland. National pride was exchanged for foreign dollars. Even now, the overwhelming majority of Americo-Liberians are members of the wealthy elite. They include businessmen, the proprietors of hotels, restaurants, dance halls and movie theaters and the owners of private newspapers. Just recently, some of them were cynically saying that Liberia is the place where a black man has the best chance of getting rich.

Latex and Colonel Christie's Discovery

Although the country has been formally independent for almost a century and a half, Liberia, with its population of just over 2 million and its area of 112,000 square kilometers, did not escape--and could not escape--the fate of its African sisters, which were all under the thumb of Western powers at some time. To this day, Liberia has the dependent colonial type of economy, dominated by foreign capital, which has seized and exploited Liberia's natural resources. And they are here in abundance: gold, diamonds, bauxite, corundum, graphite, manganese and iron ore and many others. The land is generous, producing rice, cassava, yams, coffee, pineapples and bananas. An especially valued resource is latex, the milky fluid from which natural rubber is made.

The road from Robertsfield Airport to Monrovia--and this is something that caught my attention the first time I was on it--runs between endless rows of neatly trimmed trees with spiraling incisions around their silver trunks. These are plantations of para rubber trees. Each tree produces from 3 to 5 kilograms of latex a day. But around half of the latex belongs not to Liberia, but to the American Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, which owns a million acres of plantations. Annual latex exports amount to around 100,000 tons. The lion's share of the receipts are appropriated by the corporation, whose profits are calculated in millions of dollars.

The workers who collect the latex--the tapi--are paid just over a dollar for a day of strenuous labor and live in abject poverty. With the vigorous support of the Liberian Federation of Labor, they have repeatedly demanded higher wages and a shorter work day, which is still almost 9 hours long, from Firestone. The company has agreed to minor concessions which have had no impact on the overall situation. For instance, after agreeing to a slight increase in wages, it immediately instituted a stricter system of fines, thereby nullifying labor's gains. If you ever see a bright and colorful American advertisement advising you to buy "the most reliable tires in the world," remember that they are made of latex liberally laced with the sweat, tears and even the blood of the Liberian tapi.

The situation of the workers of mining enterprises, most of which belong to foreign monopolies, is no better. Cheap manpower, manual labor without the use of modern equipment, and ore of excellent quality (with a high iron content) have made Liberia one of the world's leading suppliers of raw material for the metallurgical industry.

* This party was founded in 1869 and was in power in Liberia from 1878 to April 1980.

The discovery of iron ore here is an interesting story. During World War II, Lonsdale Christie, an American colonel supervising the construction of port facilities in Monrovia, heard that compasses on planes flying over Liberia went wild or simply stopped working. This gave him the idea that there might be a magnetic anomaly there. When he took off his uniform after the war, the enterprising American took the risk of investing all of his money in iron ore prospecting and, if things worked out, in mining. The risk paid off. The retired colonel made a profit of a hundred dollars on each dollar he invested. Now a large mining enterprise is operating in the Bomi Hills, where the ore was discovered, and annually produces several million tons of high-grade metallurgical raw material for export.

Changes for the Worse

The Tubman government pursued a policy of close cooperation with the United States for a long time (incidentally, even now the American dollar is freely circulated in the country along with the national currency). In particular, Liberia and the United States concluded a number of agreements authorizing the Americans to keep military bases in Liberia. After Tubman's death, this policy was pursued with even greater zeal by his successor, William Tolbert. Neither lifted a finger to make things easier for the majority of the population. Even some American politicians who visited the country were distressed by the knowledge that the average Liberian did not have a chance to acquire even an elementary education: 9 out of 10 people were illiterate. Poverty and diseases, including leprosy, were the laboring public's constant companions, and the rate of infant mortality was higher in Liberia than in any other African country. At the same time, a large portion of American aid was used to build the presidential palace, in comparison to which the White House is a modest dwelling.

All of this naturally aroused protests in various strata of the Liberian society. This discontent was characteristic not only of the underprivileged masses, but also of part of the intelligentsia and even the military. The explosion came on 12 April 1980. The people supported a coup organized by soldiers and junior officers. The president, several high-level officials and some army commanders were killed, the government was dissolved and the constitution of 1847 was suspended. The Americo-Liberians' monopoly on power came to an end.

The new head of state, Master Sergeant (now General) Samuel Doe, and his comrades-in-arms, who did not have much experience in "big politics" at that time, initially enlisted the services of activists with leftist leanings and prominent critics of the previous regime to govern the country. The first steps of the People's Redemption Council, which became the supreme government body, gave the Liberians the hope of rapid democratic reforms, the limitation of the influence of foreign companies, the eradication of corruption and the improvement of the laboring public's situation.

Alas, time passed, but the reforms kept being postponed. What is worse, some Liberian leaders threw themselves into the firm embrace of the U.S. embassy. American aid to the country almost quintupled, total American assets in

Liberia reached 450 million dollars, and the number of American advisers (who were not at all nominal) rose to 3,500. The local Voice of America station was modernized. Doe visited Israel, not without Washington's encouragement, and established diplomatic relations with it.

The events of recent years, which have been a bitter disappointment to many Liberians, have aided in the formation of a substratum of the country's ruling circles, obsessed with the goal of denigrating Liberia's contacts with socialist countries. Only the activities of these forces, instigated by Western special services, can explain why Liberia broke off normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1985, after three decades of relations based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. The mistake was corrected last July.

Restless Monrovia

Just a few years ago soldiers were rarely seen on Ashmane Street (the Americo-Liberians have not given up the old habit of calling it Broad Street) in the center of Monrovia.

Now the life of the Liberian capital is filled with different concerns, and its streets are filled with different pedestrians. There are many soldiers, dressed in olive drab and carrying submachine guns. Ever since the attempted coup in November 1985 by General Thomas Quiwonkpa, who was dissatisfied with the policies of Doe and his National Democratic Party, armed soldiers have patrolled Monrovia around the clock, although the regime's active opponents have either been killed, as General Quiwonkpa was, or are in prison.

According to foreign observers, times are hard for the Liberians. The prices of food, clothing and the most essential items are rising at a fantastic speed, and this is particularly hard on the budget of the laborer, a budget which is already meager.

But it is not in the nature of these people--who are proud, cheerful, kind, open, talkative and inquisitive--to be discouraged. The Liberians still hope that their life will get better and more just and that circumstances will somehow give them an existence deserving to be called human. They see the policies of the United States and Israel, which have created political and chaos in the country, as the main reason for the present upheavals.

I recall the words of one Liberian journalist:

"Our national emblem is inscribed with the wonderful motto, 'The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here.' The same inexhaustible love of liberty and the realities of daily life have assigned my countrymen the task of national rebirth, the achievement of genuine independence and the creation of the kind of economy that will serve all the people. The love of liberty demands that we maintain friendly relations with all countries in the world."

These words cannot fail to evoke understanding and sympathy. Perhaps it will not be long before the citizen of the Republic of Liberia will have every right to ask a foreign guest: "How do you like our country?"

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

JAPANESE INTEREST IN MARTIAL ARTS, SAMURAI CODE ASSESSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 53-55

[Article by A. Dolin, candidate of philological sciences: "Japan. Nationalism and the Propaganda of the Martial Arts"]

[Text] The editors receive letters from readers wanting to know more about the traditional forms of military athletics in the Oriental countries. As a prelude to a new series of articles on the martial arts of Japan, China and the South-east Asian countries, we are printing an article revealing the ideological implications of the "samurai boom" of our day.

Japan's defeat in World War II marked the collapse of a 50-year-old policy aimed at the total stupefaction of the masses. The fall of the fascist monarchic system was accompanied by appalling and foolish displays of the samurai spirit: the formation of kamikaze brigades with thousands of members, the desperate and hopeless resistance of surrounded garrisons on the South Sea islands and Okinawa, the mass suicides by civilians on Saipan and, finally, the group hara-kiri by officers in the square in front of the imperial palace.

The results of the war dispelled the myth of the invincibility of the Japanese Army and demonstrated the fragility of the political and ideological foundations of a country aspiring to the absolute domination of Asia. The surrender signified not only the partial modification of the political order and the transformation of the emperor from the "son of heaven" into a "symbol of the nation," but also a resolute reassessment of values in all spheres of life, including culture and ideology.

The precise hierarchical structure of public administration, based on the principle of the "organic unity of the nation" ("kokutai") showed the signs of a deep crack. According to the "kokutai" doctrine, which dates back to the 18th century, all links of government and all social cells are closely interrelated. Unconditional submission to superiors and blind obedience to the divinely ordained monarch lay at the basis of the civil code of ethics governing the behavioral standards of the masses and creating ideal conditions for the spread of nationalist slogans and the samurai bushido code of honor.

After the war the American Occupation eliminated the strict state censorship of the press and conducted an educational reform, affecting primarily the teaching of history and sociopolitical courses. The Shinto religion was separated from the state. Besides this, the mass media, as well as literature, motion pictures and the theatre, were severely "purged." The teaching of the samurai martial arts was forbidden: judo, aikido, kendo, karate and so forth.

After denying the principles of feudal loyalty and the idea that the Japanese were superior to other nationalities, MacArthur's headquarters took up arms against all uniquely Japanese forms of culture. Almost the entire repertoire of the Kabuki and Joruri theatres was categorized as "remnants of feudal ideology" and was banned. These actions subverted nationalism, but they also undermined the Japanese democratic movement, which had addressed the national nucleus of the cultural heritage. As a result, the discredited militarist principles of bushido took on new life for many young people, personifying the national dignity that had been trampled by the occupation.

The artificial bans imposed by the occupation authorities lasted only a few months, but they gave the ruling Liberal Democratic Party a pretext to launch a broad campaign for the "revival of lost national spiritual values" and led to a new outburst of great-power ambitions.

In the last few decades ruling circles have been quite successful in reviving "state" nationalism: They were able to restore the monarchic holiday, "Nation Founding Day" (11 February), to "correct" the interpretation of Japan's aggressive wars in history textbooks, to add a course in "morals instruction," based on pre-war ethics, to the school curriculum, and so forth. The government has also instituted stronger planning and supervision in the cultural sphere with the aim of "consolidating the bases of the nation."

A "program for the development of the desirable type of individual" was drawn up in the 1960's. It is based on such postulates as "the realization of Japan's mission in today's world," "an understanding of the common responsibility of the Japanese as a nation," "maximum effort to continue enhancing the significance of our state" and "respect for the emperor." (The program's similarities to the ideological premises of pre-war "Japanism" are striking.) Then the entire powerful machinery of the mass media went to work to publicize the new "prosperous society," in which social conflicts would supposedly be eradicated and the class struggle would be replaced by the ideal of classless national unity, reinforced by the traditional spiritual culture. The Noh and Kabuki theatres, which were on the verge of extinction, were revived with the all-round assistance of the authorities. Traditional Japanese architecture, design, landscaping, ikebana and bonsai are widely publicized in Japan today. It would be no exaggeration, however, to say that the revival of the samurai budo, the martial arts, and their spiritual basis, the code of bushido, was the focal point of the moral and physical training of young Japanese within the framework of the program for the "desirable type of individual" and a powerful accelerator of Japan's cultural expansion in all parts of the world.

Bushido is primarily a code of behavioral standards and ethical regulations, most of which are extremely simple and useful for the manipulation of public

and individual opinion. Most of these standards date back to the most general of the ancient Confucian precepts: wholehearted loyalty and devotion to the master, respect for parents, respect for elders and betters, modesty and courtesy, moderation in diet and dress, the maintenance of family honor and constant improvement in the martial arts and fine arts.*

All of the main theories of bushido, which date back to the 12th century, entered the arsenal of the ideologists of imperial "Japanism" almost unchanged in the 1880's and 1890's and served for several decades as the basis for the moral education of the nation, especially the army. In the same way, the image of the samurai, stripped of its specific historical content, became a stereotype of the national hero.

Now the government is skillfully taking advantage of public sympathies by taking every opportunity to promote the martial arts and appealing directly to samurai virtues. In the opinion of ruling circles, in the age of technological revolution, with its severe stress and potentially negative effects of the moral foundations of society, bushido can aid in the development of the strong and well-rounded individual, eager to serve the state with his talents. Today, just as in the Middle Ages, the believer in the bushido ideology unconditionally observes the standards of conventional--in this case, bourgeois--morality. It is true that the word "bushido" is no longer used. It has been replaced by the term "spirit of budo" (martial arts).

Whereas the literal translation of "bushido" is "way of the warrior," "budo" means "way of war." In the 1930's and 1940's the fascist monarchic authorities promoted the development of the traditional martial arts, declaring that they "strengthened the state." They are viewed in the same context today, although the overtly chauvinistic slogans in gyms have been replaced by the sayings of Zen patriarchs and of the founders of the contemporary budo.

The traditional martial arts in the Far East were divided into military-applied and theatrical arts. The former were mastered for use on the battlefield and for the overall mental and physical development of the individual. The latter represented a harmless copy of the real budo: Countless methods of fencing with swords and bamboo poles, boxing and wrestling were demonstrated in plays and represented an integral and important part of the choreography. The wonderfully staged battle scenes of the Kabuki theatre are quite splendid. In our day the general division of budo into applied and decorative arts has been retained, with the difference that the latter have moved from the theatrical stage to movie and television screens. Both still occupy an important place in Japanese life today.

Almost all of the samurai budo arrived safely in the 20th century. When Japan embarked on the path of modernization and industrialization, the different schools of contemporary budo continued to represent not a sport or an amusement, but a "way," a way of life, a way of developing the socially active

* For more detail, see A. Dolin, "The Way of the Samurai," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1983, No 9.

individual and a pillar of the existing social system. Now the martial arts are firmly established in the army, aiding in the cultivation of the "super-patriotic," genuine samurai spirit in the soldiers of the "self-defense forces." The police use them as a reliable way of breaking up student demonstrations. Judo, karate, kendo (fencing with swords), naginatado (fencing with halberds), jodo (fencing with clubs) and many other forms of the classic martial arts are widely taught in secondary schools, academies and VUZ's. Both boys and girls begin learning the budo at the age of 6. "Budo--health, strength and courage!"--an advertisement declares.

The Budokan center of the martial arts was built in the early 1960's with contributions from the emperor, some large Japanese concerns and from fans. It cost 2 billion yen to build. Budokan has become a veritable Mecca for admirers of the Eastern martial arts from all parts of the world.

Hundreds of experienced Japanese instructors teach judo, karate, aikido and jujitsu (or jiu-jitsu) in athletic clubs in the United States, England, France, the FRG, Holland, Brazil and many other countries. The rituals and morals of bushido and the idea that the Japanese are morally superior to other nationalities are being exported along with the techniques.

The mass media--the press, radio, television and motion pictures--give the fans of the martial arts effective support. Magazines specializing in all of the main forms of the budo are published in Japan. Judo, kendo and karate matches are televised regularly. Publishing houses are flooding the book market with cheap self-teaching guides. The samurai dramas shown on television every day provide the viewers with an abundance of battle scenes and advertise medieval martial virtues. In addition to the traditional samurai adventure films, other big hits are the karate films starring professional champions, movies about the medieval ninja and, finally, the films commissioned to advertise a particular school of budo. This was how the movie "Shorinji-kempo" came to be made. It is a romanticized biography of the founder of this contemporary school of budo, So Doshina, portrayed in the classic form of the struggle of the defender of good and justice against robbers, rapists and murderers. The film "Fighting a Bull with Bare Hands" (known in our country as "Single Combat") showed the viewer a colorful myth based on the biography of Oyama Masutatsu, the head of the Kyokushinkai school of karate. Oyama himself appeared in the movie to make it more credible.

The serious artists of the Japanese cinema also pay tribute to samurai subject matter. The deservedly renowned Akira Kurosawa released his first major art film "Sugata Sanshiro" ("Genius of Judo") in 1943, at the height of the war. It was based on a novel by Tomita Tsuneo, extolling samurai morals, the spirit of bushido and the Zen Buddhist philosophy of life. The nostalgic yearning for feudal exotica is expressed by Kurosawa in an entire series of movies, but the apotheosis of his efforts to popularize bushido was a film of the early 1980's, "The Double," which was awarded the Grand Prize at the Cannes Film Festival and was screened in many countries. The hero of the film, a commoner, is gradually permeated by the grandeur of the ideals of bushido and learns to play the role of his great double, Prince Takeda, and dies in battle, as a true samurai should, after the defeat of his clan. Incidentally,

Takeda Shingen, one of the characters in the film, is regarded as one of the canonizers of the code of bushido, and the "life of the saint" was a model for emulation for several centuries.

The actor Mifune Toshiro, whose rapid rise was connected with the success of Kurosawa's first films, later founded his own studio and specializes almost exclusively in samurai dramas. The press has repeatedly noted the reactionary aims of Mifune's films and his commercialization of the humanistic principles of the motion picture arts.

The most vivid expression of the spirit of bushido in the book trade were the works of Mishima Yukio, who combined a literary career with reactionary social activity. He is the author of the novellas, stories and novels now treated as programs of action by all members of ultra-rightwing organizations: "The Kumamoto Prefecture Kamikaze Brigade," "Patriotism" and "The Sea of Fertility." Depicting the soldiers and officers of the World War II years as selfless samurai, Mishima glorifies strength and severity as the foundation of the fascist monarchy. Ridden by complexes, Mishima indulged in sodomy, entertained sado-masochistic fantasies and, in a fit of narcissism, posed for photographs for the dust covers of his own books and the back covers of magazines wearing only a loincloth and holding a samurai sword. Finally, his biological extremism found a political outlet: He created the fascist "Shield Society," staged a melodramatic attempt at a military putsch with the help of a few disciples and, after making a pathetic speech to the soldiers, ordering them to stamp out postwar democracy, he committed hara-kiri.

This is how Mishima's career ended with a tragic farce in fall 1970. His death evoked a wave of imitations and aroused a morbid interest in his ideals, which were set forth in the book "To the Young Samurai" and in several essays. It is noteworthy that in his apology for monarchic fascism, Mishima appeals directly to the "forgotten" spirit of bushido and advised his contemporaries to return to the sources of samurai morality, to overcome the "corrupt influence of Western civilization." It was no coincidence that the writer (who was also an actor and the director and producer of movies based on his books) took lessons in kendo and karate to become imbued with the warrior spirit of his ancestors.

In the 1960's and 1970's the dust covers of overtly militarist pulp novels decorated the shelves of book stores: Suzuki Eiji's "The Steel Wings of the Samurai," Sagara Shunsuke's "The Chrysanthemum and the Dragon" and Shimagata Hosaku's "The Samurai Tank Division Commander."

In the depths of Japanese society, where monopolist capital rules, the old fungus of "Japanism" is still spreading. The country which has created computers of the fourth generation, is building the biggest ships in the world and is producing the best radio equipment in the world also has schools of the samurai martial arts that differ little from their prototypes of 300 years ago in their teaching methods, hierarchical organization and rituals. Millions of people attend these schools. Whereas the image of the "noble samurai," carrying his grandfather's sword, loyal to his divine sovereign Mikado, and composing fine tanka under the shade of a cherry tree, was constantly thrust

on the Japanese a hundred years ago, today's "export version" of the ideal Japanese is an energetic, industrious and ingenious young man who has mastered a complex technical profession and has an official rating in one of the martial arts. He is concerned about the development of body and spirit, respects his parents, defers to his superiors, is infinitely loyal to the interests of the firm and is thereby guaranteeing the economic and cultural progress of the nation.

The penetration of European and American markets by Japanese monopolies has been accompanied by the vigorous export of the budo, which should prepare the Westerner for an appreciation of the material and spiritual culture of Japan in general. The traditions of budo are advertised in literature and motion pictures, arousing the interest of millions of fans throughout the world.

What is the reason for this resounding success? It is probably not only the ability of the bushido ideology, which was once condemned but was never forgotten, to serve as a solid foundation for law and order, but also the ability of the budo to develop the right personality type for the bourgeois society. This is the egocentric and socially indifferent individual who is firmly aware of his place in the system of social relations and strives for personal goals which do not conflict with the goals of the bourgeois society. This is precisely what Japanese ruling circles conceive of as the "desirable type of individual."

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

INDIAN BOOK ON MAHATMA GANDHI, HIS CRITICS REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 62-63

[Review by V. Kashin, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Gandhi and His Critics" by B. R. Nanda, Delhi, 1985, 188 pages: "The Work and Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi"]

[Text] This new work by renowned Indian historian B. R. Nanda, "Gandhi and His Critics," is a continuation of the author's many years of studies of leading figures in the Indian people's liberation movement. The work under review is a response to the criticism of Mahatma Gandhi's political and philosophical-ideological legacy by bourgeois academics.

The author traces Gandhi's evolution as a sociopolitical leader and the evolution of his teachings, which came to be called Gandhism. The author analyzes Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence and Gandhi's views on religious community, caste, racial and other problems. An analysis of Gandhi's struggle against British colonialism during different stages and the tactics he used lies at the heart of the book.

The author resolutely rejects the hypothesis of British historians A. Rumbold and P. Johnson, according to which the highest officials of the British colonial administration had supposedly already decided to leave India in 1917. This casts doubts on the expediency of all the anticolonial campaigns initiated by Gandhi. The groundlessness of this approach is attested to by the next 30 years in the history of India, which remained "the most brilliant and precious pearl" in the crown of the British colonial empire until 1947.

An unsubstantiated accusation leveled by Johnson does not stand up to any kind of criticism either. He blames Gandhi for the shots fired at the peaceful demonstrators in Amritsar on the orders of General Dyer on 13 April 1919. The "Amritsar War" promoted the growth of the anticolonial struggle and hastened the beginning of the first civil disobedience campaign, conducted according to Gandhi's plans and under his leadership from 1920 to 1922.

Although the author appreciates the significance of Gandhi's struggle against the British colonizers, he does not always call attention to any important feature of Gandhi's anticolonial activity--his combination of non-violent pressure on the colonial administration with a willingness to agree to compromises based on mutually acceptable concessions.

The author presents a quite interesting analysis of Gandhi's efforts to unite the Indian Hindus and Muslims at a time of acute conflicts between the religious communities, prior to the division of the country into the Indian Union and Pakistan. After subjecting the opinions of British historian D. Vincent, who sees a direct connection between Gandhi's actions and the increase in the number of Hindu-Muslim conflicts, to valid criticism, B. R. Nanda cogently reveals the progressive nature of Gandhi's efforts to promote the establishment of mutual trust and cooperation between the two main religious communities of Hindustan. For the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity, Gandhi risked his life going to the sites of community conflicts, conducted hunger strikes, organized agitation and propaganda marches, negotiated with the leaders of the Muslim League and so forth.

In the author's opinion, Gandhi was convinced that the Hindu-Muslim massacres of 1946 and 1947 were a temporary phenomenon and should not have been used by the colonial authorities as an excuse to divide India. B. R. Nanda puts all of the blame for the division of the country on M. A. Jinnah, under whose pressure the Muslim League adopted the creation of Pakistan as its goal in 1940. The author makes the accurate observation that the Muslim League's separatism was tacitly supported by the British colonizers and was used by them as a counterbalance to the Indian National Congress--the most influential political party in India, with Gandhi as its ideological leader.

Unfortunately, the author does not reveal the workings of the colonial "divide and conquer" policy in this conflict between the religious communities. Under the conditions of British colonial rule, when the fueling of discord between religious communities was elevated to the status of London's state policy, Gandhi's struggle for Hindu-Muslim unity, distinguished by his personal heroism and self-sacrifice, could hardly have succeeded.

The author quite justifiably criticizes the bourgeois researchers who portray Gandhi's political biography as an unprecedented personal triumph. B. R. Nanda offers proof that Gandhi's teachings and actions corresponded to the objective needs of the Indian masses during the years of the struggle for political independence. The book aids in a more thorough understanding of Gandhism and of Mahatma Gandhi's sociopolitical activity and reconstructs and analyzes the complexities of India's history in one of its most important and dramatic periods.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOKS ANALYZING S&T PROGRESS IN JAPAN REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 10, Oct 86 pp 63-64

[Review by V. Ramzes, doctor of economic sciences, of books "Yaponiya: kultura i obshchestvo v epokhu NTR" [Japan: Culture and Society in the Age of Technological Revolution], edited by L. L. Gromkovskaya, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka," 1985, 318 pages; "Yaponiya: problemy nauchno-tekhnicheskogo progressa" [Japan: Problems of Scientific and Technical Progress], edited by Ye. M. Primakov, Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka," 1986, 256 pages; future references will use the numeral I for the first book and II for the second: "Creative Analysis of Scientific and Technical Progress"]

[Text] The reading public could hardly complain that the Nauka Publishing House does not pay enough attention to Japanese subject matter. It is as if a constantly moving conveyor belt in the Main Editorial Office of Eastern Literature issues one book after another about our Far Eastern neighbor. I must hasten to say, however, that these books present such original ideas, contain such bold analysis and are so extraordinary that they have nothing in common with the usual products of assembly lines.

The two recently published intersupplementary works reviewed in this article are a vivid illustration of this. The authors of one concentrate on the transforming mission of scientific and technical progress (STP), whose irresistible force redesigns the appearance of production and sales systems, gives the principles of management new meaning, breaks up the sectorial structure of the economy and radically changes the patterns of everyday life. The authors of the other book show how the strong and centuries-old stratum of material and spiritual culture reacts to the shock waves of innovation. This reaction has had an important, although not always positive, social effect--the maintenance and expanded reproduction (under the conditions of the grand-scale reorganization of Japanese economic potential) of an unprecedented dynamic symbiosis of the archaic and the modern, securing the maximum mobilization of the human factor of labor productivity and simultaneously taking the edge off class confrontations.

The strongest momentum for the current round of technical renewal in the Japanese economy was conveyed by the crisis of 1974-1975, beginning with the abrupt rise in oil prices and ending with the era of almost free raw materials.

This is precisely why the main areas of scientific inquiry in Japan, an insatiable consumer of imported raw materials, were connected with the resolute reduction of material and energy requirements and a much stronger emphasis on high technology production and whole industries.

In an atmosphere of fierce competition in domestic and foreign markets, Japan was able to quickly make perceptible advances in scientific research and in the practical use of research findings. The data on energy conservation in book II, for example, are quite impressive. According to these data, between the beginning of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, fuel consumption in the country was reduced by 22 percent, and energy consumption was reduced by 14 percent in ferrous metallurgy and 19 percent in the chemical industry. In addition, "the utilization of waste materials exceeded 55 percent in industry at the beginning of the 1980's, whereas the figure was 16.2 percent in 1973" (II, p 105).

The development of the economic sectors whose products represent an unprecedentedly high percentage of newly created value was accelerated. These products were immediately distinguished by universal application--that is, the ability to play a part in developing absolutely new areas of production and in surmounting periods of depression in some key sectors of the economic structure.

The rapid increase in the output of computer chips, robots, computers and flexible machine systems is literally changing the framework of industrial priorities before our eyes. "The extensive use of the latest high technology methods and means of production, the content of which is revealed by such terms as mechatronics (the use of electronic devices in machine building), technotronics (the use of electronics in various kinds of technical processes), information engineering (the combination of information systems with video equipment) and the new biotechnology, including genetic engineering" (II, p 31) is now common in Japan.

The grand scales of the reorganization were the reason for the government's energetic involvement in this undertaking. The strong support of high technology sectors cogently testifies, first of all, to the truly "cosmic" speed of their consistent advancement and, secondly, to their strong integration into long-range state-monopoly strategy, their focus on the 21st century, when, judging by all indications, they will occupy the dominant position in the economy.

Technical renewal naturally affects the methods of intraorganizational management. Persistent attempts are being made to involve as many workers as possible in the regular decisionmaking process, and there has been a "mass departure from the strict regulation of the labor process toward brigade labor and systems of self-regulation, which are considerably expanding the framework of the worker's production activity" (II, pp 82-83).

When the administration of a firm pursues this line, there is no question that it gives consideration to the rising educational level of workers and the increasing number of occupations involving mental labor--in other words,

obvious results of STP (II, pp 241, 244, 252-253). At the same time, however, as a representative of state-monopoly capital, it must also consider the variety of ways in which the proletariat can be ideologically influenced, attempts at the political neutralization of a formidable class opponent and the organization of cooperation with this opponent on the basis of alleged "common national interests." All of this is all the more necessary to the bourgeoisie now that STP in the capitalist society carries the threat of unemployment, disparities in the distribution of income and profits, highly stressful work and other negative developments.

The authors of book I stress that the skillful insertion of elements of living history into the completely modern organism of Japanese society and the adaptation of traditions to the realities of the present day are effective means of capital's "pacifying" policy.

The idealization of the past, its cultural and family attributes and the patriarchal atmosphere is a fairly common syndrome. It is also characteristic of the Japanese people, and if it is not controlled, it can arouse nostalgia, unfavorable comparisons of the present with the past, the internal resistance of change, the decline of the desire to work, alienation and opposition. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the postwar period--the period of concerted attacks on everything customary and ingrained--Japanese ruling circles have tried not to miss a single chance to establish and maintain the optimal balance between "old" and "new" in all spheres of life in the country, and the cultural sphere is no exception. The importance of the latter would be difficult to overestimate. "The ethnic community's interest in itself and in its culture in class societies varies because it is a mixture of the interests of different social groups. The bourgeoisie, however, strives the hardest to find ideological expression for them in national forms.... It regards the national culture from two vantage points: from the vantage point of the struggle against the inertia of old traditions, impeding and preventing the bourgeoisie's establishment of its own influence, and from the standpoint of the use of cultural resources to mobilize national support for its goals and interests" (I, p 37).

It must be said that these efforts have had broad repercussions in the country, and not only because state-monopoly capital is employing subtle technical methods of molding public opinion. Concern about the cultural heritage and the constant appreciation of cultural values is also the result of Japan's insular status and homogeneous population. These were what fostered the isolationist complex. Remnants of the latter do not preclude borrowing, but they also heighten the protection of the national culture.

The pages of book I are filled with eloquent examples. For instance, "the present, with its urbanization and frenzied speeds, has not had that much effect on...holidays," which are celebrated "on almost every calendar day" and which "have always rested on tradition" and have always been willing to "change to keep in step with the times" (I, p 150). Of course, the majority of them are not simply excuses for revelry. They are permeated with religious spirit and are perfectly consistent with the conservative campaign for the reinstatement of Shinto's prewar privileges (I, pp 142-143). Television, with its entertainment and commercials, is also strongly influenced by the traditional

culture. Family shows, historical dramas and so-called "swordfight" dramas take up more than 25 percent of all broadcasting time and are indisputably used to keep "viewers in the system of dominant social values" (I, p 70).

The authors of book I also reveal the deliberate encouragement and spontaneous advancement of the Japanese toward "immutable cultural values," which inevitably give rise to chauvinistic obsessions. Under these conditions, the popularization of the "monolithic nation" stereotype cannot be regarded as a coincidence. It is being instilled in the public mind to guarantee the strong identification of the hired worker with the firm, the individual with the "unified nationality," and all Japanese with the domestic and foreign policies of the ruling elite (I, p 125).

The panorama of the direct and reciprocal relations between STP and the economic and social environment is described in these books with truly academic accuracy and objectivity. The writers have not been equally successful in all sections: Some topics roam from one section to another, some events are given conflicting interpretations and some of the information is rather old. In general, however, the two monographs deserve a high rating.

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USA AND CANADA

CANADIAN BUSINESSMAN ON ECONOMIC TIES WITH USSR

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 86 p 4

[Report of interview with Paul Demaree, chairman of the board of directors of the Power Corporation of Canada and head of a delegation of Canadian businessmen, by correspondent B. Ivanov: "Paul Demaree: A Constructive Dialogue Is Essential"]

[Text] A group of Canadian businessmen has been visiting the Soviet Union. They have had a number of meetings with leaders of Soviet agencies of foreign trade and industry, and they have completed a tour of the country. Before the Canadian guests departed by air from Moscow, IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Ivanov met with the head of the delegation, Paul Demaree, chairman of the board of directors of the Power Corporation of Canada.

I am visiting the Soviet Union for the second time, said Paul Demaree, after an interval of many years. The changes in your country are enormous. Moscow has improved in appearance: the city has become more spacious, it is cleaner, and there is more light; it has many handsome squares and magnificent buildings. Great changes have taken place and are continuing to take place in Soviet society itself. It has become more open. There is a greater reliance being made on labor productivity and worker discipline, and the efficiency and competitiveness of the economy has been raised. All this is evidence of your serious attitude towards fulfilling the tasks that have been set.

Not long ago the USSR minister of foreign affairs made a visit to Canada. In the course of his visit a number of documents were signed that give a new thrust to the development and extension of Soviet-Canadian cooperation. Our present trip in this sense is a "necessary step in the right direction."

Our relations in the area of economics, P. Demaree went on to emphasize, hold excellent possibilities for development in both directions. I think we should turn our attention to the structure of our trade and differentiate it. While continuing to develop the important trade in raw materials, we should like to press forward in developing the exchange of finished products and both industrial and agricultural technology. We talked specifically about this with our Soviet colleagues. We are also interested in carrying out large-scale

projects jointly with the Soviet side, let us say, in the production of paper and cellulose, in the procurement of timber, in the development of natural resources and in opening up the Arctic and the northern regions. We are satisfied with the results of discussions that have taken place. They were candid and concrete, and they revealed many points of concern in common.

We have a right to rely on a bright outlook in our relations. It is based on a tradition of good-neighborliness, common interest, and tangible mutual benefits for the peoples of both countries. Although there are differences between us on certain international issues, experience clearly shows that the interests of our peoples are objectively bound together by a policy of strengthening and extending international and bilateral cooperation. It is cooperation and a constructive dialogue on crucial issues of the present day that invariably reflect the interests of Canada and the Soviet Union. Trade and economic cooperation are extremely important tools of mutual understanding and peace. I am convinced, the head of the delegation declared in conclusion, that trips such as ours, together with contacts and discussions, do much to bring about a change in antiquated, rigid preconceptions of one another and help to resolve difficult and complex political problems. In other words, they serve the interests of peace and good-neighborly relations.

12889

CSO: 1825/36

WESTERN EUROPE

USSR PAPER SEES MILITARY INTEREST IN 'EUREKA' PROJECT

PM281520 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Dec 86 p 3

[Report by unnamed TASS special correspondent: "'Eureka' Program Conference"]

[Text] Stockholm, 17 December--The fourth European intergovernmental conference on the "Eureka" program opened in the Swedish capital today. It is attended by foreign and scientific research ministers from 19 countries, as well as a representative of the EC Commission.

The agenda comprises questions connected with completing the process of organizing the management side of the program, examining new research projects, and direct contacts with representatives of business circles. The ministers will also discuss the budget of the international secretariat--the organization's executive body--and analyze the progress made in implementing scientific projects that were embarked upon earlier.

The aim of "Eureka" is to make Western Europe far more competitive in view of the fact that it is increasingly lagging behind the United States and Japan in the sphere of modern technology. The program participants are displaying most interest in scientific developments in the sphere of information science and communications, electronics, robot technology, lasers, and biotechnology.

Despite the partners' original claim that "Eureka" is a civilian project, the desire of the military circles to tailor the program to their own interests is becoming increasingly obvious. The French representative to "Eureka," Claude Maunaud, recently stressed in the magazine NATO REVIEW that the program bears some similarity to the U.S. SDI.

FRG Research and Technology Minister Heinz Riesenhuber was even more candid when he stated the other day in Bonn that the results of research in the context of "Eureka" are suitable for use in the military sphere.

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CSO: 1825/059

WESTERN EUROPE

FINNISH-SOVIET INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION VIEWED

PM091115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 87 First Edition pp 1, 5

[Report by correspondent M. Kostikov under the "Events, Meetings" rubric: "The 'Taymyr' Is Being Born Here: USSR-Finland: New Aspects of Cooperation"]

[Text] Helsinki, January--The small bay of (Khietalakhiti) cuts sharply into the outline of the Finnish capital. On its granite banks rows of dockside cranes stand out against the sky as though on pedestals. There are moorings, depots, terminals, rows of containers, and lines of linked freight cars. It is crowded in (Khietalakhiti), Helsinki's western cargo port, with the buildings of industrial enterprises around it seeming to hug the bay. A large part of the industrial semicircle is occupied by the Helsinki shipyard of Wärtsilä, one of Finland's largest concerns.

The yard's record shows hundreds of ships of different types and sizes built for our country. It was here, in (Khietalakhiti), that the first working launches built for the USSR--30, 40, or 120 horsepower "work-horses"--were launched in 1932. The vast 4,000 cubic meter dry dock, almost as high as an eight-storey building, is now assembling the "Taymyr," a purpose-built 52,000 horsepower atomic-powered icebreaker. Such are the milestones on the path traveled by our countries in developing cooperation in the sphere of shipbuilding alone.

Mutually beneficial ties embrace virtually all the main sectors of modern industry, science, and technology. There is a constant creative search in progress to improve trade and economic cooperation and its forms and promising long-term areas of development. One such area is the construction of industrial facilities on the two countries' territory. The largest of them to date in the USSR are the Kostomuksha mining enrichment combine, the Svetogorsk pulp and paper combine, and the construction of the first phase of the Novotallinskiy port. Those in Finland include the Raasepori metallurgical combine, the Lovisa nuclear power station, and the second phase of the Soviet gas pipeline which will deliver natural gas from the USSR to Helsinki, Tampere, and other Finnish population centers. Industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation are developing increasingly vigorously. Next in line is the creation of Soviet-Finnish joint enterprises.

From the "Taymyr's" top deck, with sparks flying here and there from the electric welding guns, the near-complete hull of the future atomic powered ice-breaker is impressive. In the stern the servo-motors made by the Finnish firm (Kyumi-Stremberg) stand waiting to be fitted. Alongside there are the Soviet generators supplied by Leningrad's "Elektrosila" association. The "Taymyr's" hull itself is being bonded together from specially hardened sheet steel produced by "Azovstal," the well-known Soviet enterprise. The central compartment--the ice-breaker's atomic heart--will be installed back in our country. The ice-breaker will be able to work in ice almost 2 meters thick, and its future area of operation will be the river mouths of Siberia. The shipyard's engineers told me that the planning of the "Taymyr" and the detailed study of all its subassemblies and components were carried out in close cooperation and collaboration between Soviet and Finnish planning specialists. During work on the planning quite a few new solutions were found on the basis and in the light of over 10 years' experience of operating ice-breakers of the "Arktika" class. Dozens of Soviet plants are supplying components for the "Taymyr," the world's first shallow-draught nuclear-powered ice-breaker.

"The nuclear-powered ice-breaker 'Taymyr'," Minister (Tankmar Khorn), chairman of the board of the Wartsila company, said, "is not just the largest high technology order in the entire history of Finnish shipbuilding. It is also marked by the high level of production sharing--around 16 percent."

Speaking about the development of production sharing, (T. Khorn), recently elected chairman of the Finnish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, notes that this promising area is still only just gathering momentum. Specialization in the construction of ice-breakers and Artic-type ships has given new impetus to scientific and production cooperation in general."

The necessity of this is dictated by life itself. The Soviet Union has for many years been Finland's largest trading partner, and the latter in turn occupies a leading place in the USSR's foreign trade with industrially developed capitalist countries. Reciprocal commodity exchange in the last 5-year plan (1981-1985) amounted to R25 billion and considerably exceeded the targets of the long-term cooperation program for that period.

Minister (T. Khorn) noted the importance of expanding the range of Soviet exports to Finland. This, he believes, is now the common task which both sides must work to resolve. It should be added that the foundation for this approach has already been laid in the 5-year agreement on commodity exchange and payments for 1986-1990, which envisages an increase in supplies of Soviet machinery and equipment to Finland in addition to other goods, both traditional and new.

The current restructuring of the Soviet economy, the strategy of acceleration, the changing of the mechanism of foreign economic ties, and the emphasis on the quality and competitiveness of Soviet export goods--those formed the topics of my conversation with (Mikko Kivimäki), managing

director of the (Rautaruukki) joint stock company at its main office. The firm's main enterprises have been built with the USSR's technical assistance. The Raahe metallurgical combine is one of Northern Europe's largest. It produces 1.8 million metric tons of steel a year. Half of its output is for export.

"Our countries have been partners in cooperation for a long time," (M. Kivimäki) said. "The combine uses sets of Soviet equipment and the Soviet continuous steel-smelting technique. That is what has enabled us to compete in the world markets. In addition, we receive 300,000 metric tons of iron ore pellets a year from Kostomuksha for our production. In 1987 a coal tar-chemical plant will be commissioned which will also be provided with Soviet equipment and improved techniques developed in the USSR. This is one example of scientific and technical collaboration which is closely linked with production sharing.

The (Rautaruukki) firm also owns a freight car building plant in Otanmäki, which is an important Soviet-Finnish cooperation project.

"This is an important undertaking for us," (Kivimäki) said. "And even though at the moment all our output is supplied to the Soviet Union, in the long term we must also think about entering the markets of third countries."

The Soviet Union and Finland have repeatedly provided examples of the successful development of mutually beneficial ties. In the economy, just as in politics, what is now needed is new thinking and a search for more effective forms of cooperation which take into account the needs of the present stage of scientific and technical progress.

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EASTERN EUROPE

WEST ALLEGEDLY CONTINUING 'SUBVERSION' AGAINST POLAND

PM161259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 86 First Edition p 5

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Caught Red-Handed"]

[Text] Warsaw--PRAVDA has already reported that Polish security service officials foiled attempts to illegally import into Poland a large consignment of printing and electronic equipment designed for subversive activity.

The Polish authorities allowed foreign correspondents the opportunity to see for themselves the 8.5-ton Scania truck bearing a Swedish license plate detained at the Swinoujscie border point.

Journalists were able to view the latest highly productive duplicating equipment, offset machines, printer-linked VDT's, and computers enabling information to be encoded. There were cans harmlessly labelled "Automobile Paint." But that was camouflage. The cans contained special ink for printing machines. There were 40,000 matrices, enough to run off around 4 million copies. There were also more than 100 banned works of literature.

Some other equipment which had been used or was intended to be used by subversive elements in Poland was also shown at the "exhibition." It included a pistol disguised as a fountain pen, a portable radio station, an electronic stun-gun, capable even of killing by a powerful charge, bugging equipment, detonators, and other subversion and spying equipment.

At a press conference held at the Polish Internal Affairs Ministry representative Jerzy Karpacz reported that experts estimated the value of the equipment in the truck detained to be 1 million Swedish kronor. The truck driver, Lennart Jarn, confessed that he was to park his vehicle in Zielona Gora, where it would later be unloaded.

This operation was one of many in a long line of acts of provocations mounted against socialist Poland by Western special services and subversion and propaganda centers. Certain figures from former "Solidarity" on their payroll are now saying cynically that it was not the first truck nor will it be the last.

Indeed it was not the first. But what of it? Clearly, most of these figures still live in the past rather than the present. Their bitterness is so great that they fail to distinguish the realities of the present day.

And those realities, if looked at without prejudice, are unambiguous. Poland has through its own efforts overcome the crisis, is deepening the process of stabilization, and has begun implementing a program of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country. In introducing martial law 5 years ago Poland halted the dangerous course of events and saved itself from a tragedy. Polish working people supported the resolute measures aimed at saving Poland and isolating antisocialist forces.

"Yesterday we overcame fear to revive hope," TRYBUNA LUDU writes. "Now we are ourselves creating the conditions necessary to ensure that hope turn to certainty and everything improve and to prevent anyone succeeding in repeating the old mistakes and anti-people actions."

Poland has traveled a long way during these years. Much has been achieved, and it is planned to do even more. However, Washington and its imperialist allies have not abandoned their attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs or their desire to divert it from the socialist path. But those attempts are bound to fail, as indeed are acts of provocation like the one that occurred at the Swinoujscie border point.

/12858
CSO: 1807/111

EASTERN EUROPE

USSR-BULGARIA AGREEMENT ON LEGAL ASPECTS OF JOINT DISCOVERIES

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SOYUZA SOVETSKIKH
SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK (OTDEL VTOROY) IN Russian No 18, 1986 pp
270-273

/Agreement between the USSR and Bulgaria, signed in Sofia on 12 March 1986 by
N.V. Mironov, plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union, and K.B. Iliyev,
plenipotentiary of Bulgaria/

/Text/

AGREEMENT

between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics and the Government of the Peoples Republic of
Bulgaria (PRB) regarding the legal protection of joint
discoveries co-authored by citizens of the USSR and the PRB

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of
the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria

with the aim of developing cooperation in questions of the legal protection of
joint discoveries and in extending mutual assistance in resolving such questions

have agreed upon the following:

Article 1

The Parties to this Agreement will cooperate in questions of the legal
protection of joint discoveries co-authored by citizens of the USSR and the
PRB.

Article 2

Responsibility for carrying out work on questions of the legal protection of
joint discoveries is assigned to the departments responsible for inventions: to
the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries on the Soviet Side and
to the PRB Institute for Inventions and Rationalization on the Bulgarian Side.

Article 2

In accordance with the present Agreement, discoveries are considered to be joint if they are co-authored by USSR and PRB citizens, irrespective of whether they are made on the territory of these or of third countries, and if they are recognized to be such by the USSR and the PRB departments for inventions.

An application for a joint discovery will be accepted for examination under the condition that it is submitted not later than 15 years from the date that the discovery is made.

Article 4

The initial application for a joint discovery is to be submitted in as short a time as possible, in keeping with national legislation, to the departments for inventions of the USSR and the PRB, as a rule depending upon the country in which the discovery is made.

Article 5

The USSR and the PRB departments for inventions will advise each other without delay concerning applications for joint discoveries that have been received, about scientific examinations that have been made regarding them, and about all actions and changes relating to the legal protection of such discoveries.

The designated departments will cooperate in the realization of joint discoveries and will advise one another of inventions made on the basis of these discoveries.

Article 6

The results of scientific examination of an application for a joint discovery, which are obtained in one of the countries participating in this Agreement, may serve as a basis for recognizing the discovery in the other of the countries participating in the Agreement.

Article 7

Recognition of a joint discovery by one of the countries participating in the Agreement does not preclude scientific examination in the other country participating in the Agreement in accordance with its national legislation.

Article 8

The departments for inventions of the USSR and the PRB will organize joint consultations for determining joint discoveries and on questions connected with carrying out scientific examination of applications for joint discoveries.

Article 9

Costs connected with the legal protection of joint discoveries will be borne by each of the participant countries in the Agreement at its individual expense.

Article 10

The Soviet and Bulgarian authors of a joint discovery have the right to receive Soviet and Bulgarian certification of a joint discovery, as well as compensation.

Article 11

The procedure for presenting the authors of a joint discovery with certification of the discovery along with the amount of compensation are to be determined in accordance with the national legislation of each of the countries participating in this Agreement.

Article 12

Compensation which is due to the authors of a joint discovery is to be paid to Soviet citizens by the Soviet Side (the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries), while compensation due to Bulgarian citizens is to be paid by the Bulgarian Side (by the Bulgarian Institute for Inventions and Rationalization), following procedures established by the national legislation of the corresponding country.

Compensation is not paid to authors of a joint discovery in a participant country in the Agreement which is not the country of their citizenship.

Article 13

Disputes, which arise between the economic organizations of both countries in connection with the legal protection and the utilization of joint discoveries, are to be resolved in accordance with the Convention on Settlement through Arbitration of Civil and Legal Disputes Resulting from Economic and Scientific and Technical Collaboration, signed on 26 May 1972.

Disputes, examination of which has been assigned by national legislation or international agreement to the exclusive competence of appropriate organs in the participant countries in the Agreement, are to be settled by these organs.

Article 14

Specific questions concerning the legal protection of joint discoveries, which may arise in application of this Agreement, will be resolved by the USSR and PRB departments for inventions.

When necessary, the designated departments will conclude interdepartmental agreements (protocols) with one another regarding the application of this Agreement.

Article 15

The present Agreement is to be applied to joint discoveries, for which decisions concerning the issuance of certificates have been made by the Soviet and Bulgarian Sides subsequent to 1 January 1985.

Article 16

This Agreement is concluded for a term of 15 years and will enter into force from the day it is ratified in accordance with the legislation of the participant countries in the Agreement. Upon expiration of this term, the Agreement is to be automatically extended each time for succeeding five-year periods, so long as one of the countries does not declare its desire to terminate its participation by informing the other Side of this in writing no later than 6 months before the current effective period expires.

Done in the city of Sofia on 12 March 1986 in two copies, each in the Russian and Bulgarian languages, whereas both texts are equally valid.

13032

CSO: 1807/62

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS HAILED

Situation in Far East Described

OW121020 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 8 Dec 86

[From "Soviet Union Today" program]

[Text] Not long ago, Kuprianov, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, visited our station, and our commentator, Markov, had discussions with him on the work of the recent regular session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The session approved the Soviet plans for 1987 and [words indistinct]. During the conversation, Kuprianov also discussed issues concerning Soviet-Chinese relations. Today we will broadcast the first part of his talk. In the Supreme Soviet, Kuprianov, 37, represents the coastal areas bordering China. Kuprianov is a worker and a leader of a tunnelling team for a mining and dressing complex.

Kuprianov said: [at this point the station broadcasts 10 seconds of talk in Russian, which then fades out and is replaced by a male announcer's Mandarin translation] Kuprianov said he welcomes the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. He said: It should be noted that China and the USSR are neighbors. We have been waiting for the normalization for nearly 20 years, which is a long time. As people living in the Far East, we are indeed particularly happy to know that our cooperation is now developing and our friendship has been strengthening each passing day. (?We should know that) not only are we neighbors, but we are close neighbors. We live by the same river, the Amur. We believe, and we hope, that the Amur, like all other Soviet-Chinese border areas, will become a peaceful and friendly border river as time goes by.

Allow me to quote the speech by Comrade Gorbachev in Vladivostok, capital of our border region. He said the USSR is ready to have serious and earnest discussions with China at any time and at any level on issues concerning supplementary measures for creating a situation where our two countries can live as good neighbors.

[Female announcer] The Congress of the 27th CPSU Central Committee was held last spring. The document on long-range development of Soviet states adopted by the Congress also stressed the necessity of expanding Soviet-Chinese

cooperation. As a delegate to the Congress, what is your comment on this issue?

[Male announcer] Comrade Kuprianov replied: Such cooperation is highly possible because it is in the interests of the people of our two countries and is inseparable from two most precious things--namely socialism and peace--cherished by the people of our two countries. The Soviet people understand and respect the CPC goal of modernizing the country and building it into a socialist society that can live up to the expectations of a great people. The Chinese people and the Soviet people are now confronted with a similar task: how to expedite our two countries' social and economic development. Such being the case, broadening our two countries' cooperation in all fields is very beneficial and necessary.

Comrade Kuprianov said: I am happy to see that this is becoming a reality. I can see that Soviet ships loaded with Soviet-made machinery and other goods are setting forth to China one after another from our ports in the Far East. I can also see the broadening of Soviet-Chinese border trade. There is an increasingly ample supply of beautifully made and (?durable) Chinese goods in our urban and rural stores along the coast. People are satisfied with the goods they have purchased. If Chinese people like our goods, we will also be very happy.

Comrade Kuprianov continued: I want to say that we workers as well as all Soviet people are very interested in China and the life of the Chinese people. We want to know as many things about China as possible, and not merely those we have learned from newspapers or television programs. I think that Soviet and Chinese people should resume their good neighborly contacts by exchanging friendly visits and by exchanging experts and students. The more we understand each other, the more we will trust each other, and our friendship will certainly become more consolidated. Many Soviet people have already visited China. Over the past two years, nine delegations from our coastal region have visited China, where they were accorded warm and friendly receptions, and 10 Chinese delegations have also visited our coastal region, with us letting them visit enterprises, schools, and kindergartens and see whatever they wanted to see. I think our Chinese guests must have a clear picture of the life of their neighbors--the Soviet people living in the Far East.

[Female announcer] A branch of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association has been established in the Soviet border region along the coast. What can you say about its activities?

[Male announcer] Comrade Kuprianov said: The branch has carried out very active work to promote Soviet-Chinese friendship. The lectures, soirees, and exhibitions it has sponsored are of great interest among the people living in the coastal areas. Not long ago, an exhibition of photos about Chinese people's life was held in our plant. Dozens of enterprises and schools, including nine [words indistinct] schools, have become active members of the branch association. I wish our Chinese friends success in their work and life, and I hope our friendship will become more consolidated.

Relations in 1986 Reviewed

OW250247 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0700 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Excerpt] Dear Chinese friends: The year 1986 is almost over. What kind of a year was 1986 in terms of the relationship between the Soviet Union and China? This is the topic we are going to talk about today.

People generally sum up at year's end the most significant and unforgettable events of the year. Because of the efforts made by both sides, we are pleased to see the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations in 1986. The visit to China by Comrade Talyzin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, has greatly contributed to the further expansion of ties between the two countries. During the visit, he seriously and in detail, exchanged views about the problem of the Soviet-Chinese relationship and signed a cooperation agreement with China's State Planning Commission on behalf of the USSR State Planning Committee. He also signed a consular treaty and documents relating to the further development of trade between the two countries. Both sides talked over promising economic cooperation. Contacts at governmental, parliamentary, and social levels, as well as between the ministries of the two countries, have been broadened. With great interest, the Soviet people visited the Chinese economic and trade exhibition held in Moscow this summer. The exhibition showed the achievements your country has made. The Soviet industry and trade exhibition also opened on 12 December in Beijing. This enabled Chinese people to better understand the achievements made by the Soviet Union during the socialist social construction.

The two countries' art troupes, writers, artists, and friendship associations exchanged visits in 1986. The Soviet people are pleased at the positive development of the Soviet-Chinese relationship, the further development of neighborly relations with China in the interest of peace and socialist undertaking of the two peoples, and the sincere wishes for mutual interest and cooperation. [passage omitted on talk by deputy plant director of a Moscow automobile plant on his visit to China in August this year]

/12913

CSO: 4005/303

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PRAVDA FEATURE VIEWS IRAN-IRAQ WAR FROM BOTH SIDES

PM231719 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 December 1986
First Edition carries on page 6 under the general headline "Iran-Iraq:
7th Year of War" a feature incorporating four items, all of which are
texted below.

The first item is a December-dated Baghdad dispatch by own correspondent
Yu. Glukhov entitled "Echo of the Battles," which reads as follows:

"Iraqi radio and television news programs begin with reports on the war.
The High Command's daily final communique is broadcast at 2000 hours.
There have already been more than 2,000 such bulletins in the 6 years
and more of the Iran-Iraq war.

"The news from the front line has people gathering around their radios
and television sets. At that time Baghdad falls silent. After all, it
is their fathers, sons, husbands, and brothers who are fighting, and
fierce battles are raging quite close at hand. As the crow flies, the
front line runs roughly 100 km east of the capital. It stretches for
1,200 km along the border, crossing over in the north into the mountain
ridges of Iraqi Kurdistan and disappearing in the southern section into
the swamp through which the Shatt al-'Arab flows.

"Outwardly there is little in Baghdad to remind one of the war. On an
evening there are lots of people in the cafes along the Tigris embankment
and on Sa'dun Street—where trading goes on. But the echo of the fighting
grows ever louder not just on radio and in television broadcasts but in
the newspapers and at the movies. The war—in all its ferocity—is
visibly erupting into the lives of Baghdadis.

"I saw a whole block of destroyed buildings. In one of them workers were
clearing the debris and two women, dressed in black, having climbed to
the second floor by a flight of stairs left intact, were collecting metal
pots and pans and other belongings. Several bulldozers, their strained
engines revving, were filling in an enormous crater.

"It was the aftermath of the explosion of a surface-to-surface missile
fired at Baghdad by the Iranians. Seventy people were killed or wounded.
Crowds of people took part in the funeral processions. Other marks of

misfortune are the black sheets of cloth which you see on the walls of houses alongside reports of deaths at the front line which are hung up by the families of those killed.

"There are virtually no adolescents or young people in the capital at present. Senior-class pupils and students are attending a 'military semester.' Every evening an hour-long television broadcast is devoted to reports from the camps where they are undergoing military training. Tens of thousands of young people are engaged in forced marches, firing-range practice, and assault courses. Their teachers march, run, and fire alongside them.

"The waiting-room of the city hall is crowded. Visitors patiently await their turn. The arched windows are obliterated by broad strips of sticky tape put up to protect against blast. Through their openings the blue Baghdad sky shines wan and dim.

"The war seems to have obliterated all peaceful plans in just the same way. But the office of Deputy Mayor of Baghdad 'Adil Husayn al-Shaykh 'Ali is hung with architectural plans and diagrams. Baghdad, as has long been planned, is to be turned into a modern capital city, he said. Quite a lot is being done at the moment--apartment blocks and multistory parking lots are being built and roads laid. It is true, however, that the military situation does not allow us to work as we would wish.

"There are for the time being virtually no problems in providing inhabitants with water, basic foodstuffs, electricity, or transport, 'A.H. al-Shaykh 'Ali continued. The war, however, dictates its own laws. For example, the manpower problem bound up with the departure of many men for the front has become more acute. Their places are being taken by women.

"But the conflict continues to worsen. Since 1982, when Iraq announced the departure of its troops for the border, Iran has sought to break through the barrier of positional warfare and carry offensive operations into Iraqi territory. The spearhead of attacks has been concentrated in the following sectors--Hajj 'Umran in the north; Mandali-Baghdad in the center; and Basra in the south. The most intense fighting has taken place in the southern sector, where Iraq has a narrow outlet to the Persian Gulf--a 50-km coastal strip.

"As Abd al-Jabbar Muhsin, deputy chief of the Iraqi Army Political Directorate, said, Iran tried to break through to Basra--Iraq's second most important city--and cut off the Baghdad-Kuwait road during one large-scale offensive. The enemy did not achieve his goals, he said. Only 240 square km of our territory were taken, and that at the cost of enormous losses. The presence of Iranians in the city of Faw and to the north of the Majnun oilfields will soon be ended.

"According to A. al-J. Muhsin, the proportion of casualties suffered during fighting is far from being in Iran's favor, since Iraq has the edge in equipment and its troops are fighting defensive battles.

"Even if this is so, we are still talking about tens of thousands of human lives. Iraq has large material losses too: The sums involved are enormous and are growing daily. The economic centers in the south of the country and the oil ports there are paralyzed.

"What, then, from the Iraqi standpoint, has caused such a protracted and bloody strife [mezhdousobitsa]? What are the prospects for ending it?

"The conflict has historical roots—the hostility between Persians and Arabs which has burst out from time to time, Iraqi Minister of Culture and Information L.N. Jasim said. But its essence, in our view, lies in the desire of the present Tehran authorities to establish an Iran-style Islamic regime in Iraq.

"As early as 1979-1980 Iran frequently resorted to subversive actions and attacks against Iraq, L.N. Jasim continued. Acts of terrorism were carried out. Some 500 Iranian incursions into Iraqi airspace were recorded by 4 September 1980. Our forces entered Iranian territory for the purpose of self-defense.'

"For the sake of achieving peace we withdrew to the border in 1982. But Tehran has continued its invasions, describing the occupied part of Majnun and Faw as the 'liberated territories.' Iran has already mounted more than 20 offensives, declaring each of them as 'final and decisive.'

"But not one of them has proved 'decisive.' Iraq possesses every means for defending itself: a combat-capable army, first-class military hardware, and large economic potential. We do not claim others' land, but we are ready to defend our own. We take Iranian threats seriously, and will respond blow for blow.

"At the same time, L.N. Jasim stressed, Baghdad has made frequent proposals now for a political settlement of the conflict. The latest proposals, set forth by Iraqi President S. Husayn in an open message to the Iranian leadership in August, envisage the withdrawal of troops to the internationally recognized borders, the exchange of prisoners, and the conclusion of a peace and nonaggression treaty. The sides must also agree not to interfere in each other's internal affairs and to respect each country's freedom of choice. Developing these initiatives, Iraq has proposed that the treaty be reinforced by guarantees. They could be provided by states which are permanent members of the UN Security Council, by nonaligned countries, or by the Islamic Conference Organization. However, so far the peace proposals emanate from Iraq—it is a one-way street.

"Baghdad's history goes back 12 centuries. If you want to learn about it, you will certainly be shown the monument to Caliph al-Mansur, Baghdad's founder. You will be told that under him Baghdad was called the Madinat al-Salam—the 'City of Peace.' Today the 'City of Peace,' while proposing to put aside its weapons and sit at the negotiating table, is equally ready to continue the war."

The second item on the page is a December-dated Tehran dispatch entitled "To the Front Line Again" by own correspondent A. Stepanov, which reads as follows:

"A line of automobiles slowly makes its way along Enqelab (Revolution) Street. The loudspeakers mounted on them broadcast slogans and blare out marches. There is a column of roughly 150 people following behind every car. At the front walk adolescents, virtually children. The automatic weapons over their shoulders look inordinately large. Behind them there are young people and men of mature age. Instead of weapons they carry small varicolored flags on which is inscribed in intricate calligraphy: 'Mohammad Corps.' They have the same inscription on their headbands.

"They are formations of basiji (militiamen) going off to Friday namaz (prayers). After the parades, inspections, prayers, and rallies they will be dispatched to the war front, where they will fight alongside detachments of 'Islamic revolutionary guards' and army subunits.

"A stream of traffic flows around the procession on both sides, while on the sidewalks not the least heed is paid it by passers-by hurrying about their business--men, not one of whom is to be seen wearing a tie (it is known disparagingly here as a "Western running knot on the Muslims' neck), and women swathed from head to foot in a black 'hejab.' It is clear that for most citydwellers such processions are a usual occurrence.

"Your correspondent, who is the first Soviet journalist to succeed in visiting Tehran in the last 4 years, was accompanied by Iranian colleagues. When asked what use is served by old men at the front line, they reply that they 'have volunteered to go into the minefields to accept a martyr's death to further the just cause.'

"At the Ministry of Islamic Guidance I was told that 4 million men have undergone combat training in the ranks of the militia. Around 1 million have already been at the front. It is the basiji, who receive only the most basic military instruction, that suffer the heaviest casualties. There are more than 13,000 volunteer training centers operating in the country. These centers are designed to implement the goal put forward by Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeyni--the goal of placing 20 million people under arms.

"In the spacious ministry courtyard there is a movie theater where documentaries and feature films glorifying the valor of Iranian servicemen are shown. Nearby, behind a fountain purring forth a thick red liquid symbolizing the blood of the 'shakhid'--that is to say, those who have fallen on the battlefield in the name of Allah--stands a marquee in which a militia enrollment center has been set up. An exhibition has been mounted there showing the destruction caused by the war, and there are stands displaying examples of the weapons issued. Guides explain that a considerable number of the small arms, munitions, mortars, and small missile launchers are actually produced in Iran, while sophisticated combat equipment and spare parts are purchased on the international market.

"My assignment to Tehran coincided with the scandal erupting in the United States over secret supplies of American arms to Iran and the accompanying attempts to establish relations with some of its leadership. Majlis (parliament) Speaker A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani has stated that former U.S. presidential National Security Adviser R. McFarlane, who arrived in Tehran in a plane carrying a military cargo, did not succeed in meeting a single high-ranking Iranian figure. Eight Majlis deputies submitted a question regarding the McFarlane mission and the purchases of American arms, but Ayatollah Khomeini put a stop to the matter, stating that it was better to direct critical fire against America than to search for culprits among the Iranian leadership. Anti-American feelings in the country have intensified.

"On visiting Tehran you see for yourself that literally all aspects of life here are in some way affected by the war. The Iranian capital bears the common stamp of reserve, guardedness, and grief. Somber hues and colors predominate. A laugh or a smile is uncommon. Wakes quite often take place in the doorways to houses in the light of electric lamps.

"The arch erected during the time of the shah in honor of the 2,500th anniversary of the Iranian monarchy is plastered with military placards. The press, television, and mosques are engaged in intense 'holy war' propaganda.

"The road from Mehrabad Airport runs alongside a wall covered in enormous caricatures. Other means of visual agitation are also encountered. The main fire of criticism falls on the Iraqi regime and the Western powers. But from time to time you also run across anti-Soviet slogans. Inflections unfriendly to our country, present in the utterances of Iran's leading figures, creep in.

"A campaign to collect funds for the front is being carried out in the capital, as is the case throughout the country. Some people contribute money, some jewelry, others bicycles or motorcycles. The war has entered the home of virtually every Iranian and demands that ever more new hardships be suffered. Through the clergy's efforts the cult of martyrdom and self-sacrifice has been fashioned and is energetically maintained. At every establishment and enterprise the visitor is confronted by a board displaying photographs of 'shakhid.'

"The adversities of wartime are everywhere apparent. Many industrial enterprises are standing idle or working at less than full capacity because of a shortage of resources. Interruptions to electricity and water supply are quite frequent in the city. Long lines of cars form up at the gas pumps: Iraqi aircraft have carried out a number of strikes against oil refineries, resulting in difficulties in supplying various kinds of fuel.

"According to official figures, the war with Iraq is costing Iran \$6 million a day; unofficially, however, it is consuming at least 5 billion of the 8.5-billion-dollar annual oil export revenue. The situation is

being made worse by the slump in world oil prices. But the gravest thing is that the number of casualties is growing and the destruction is considerable: Almost 120,000 buildings in more than 3,000 population centers.

"The war places a heavy burden on the people, particularly the underprivileged strata. Prices have leaped almost fivefold in a matter of a few years. The country has around 5 million unemployed. The shortage of various kinds of goods is felt. The number of poor and disabled grows. The problem of drug-abuse is acute.

"Setting forth the official standpoint in conversation with me, A. Azizi, chairman of the Majlis Foreign Policy Committee, said: 'We are waging a just struggle. The Iraqi regime has committed aggression against us with the aim of overthrowing the government.' And here are other statements, published in the press. Majlis Deputy Speaker M. Yazdi has stressed that Iran will end the war against Iraq if the regime ruling in that country is replaced by another and the kind of regime is determined, in his words, by Iraqi Muslims themselves. Rajai-Khorasani, Iran's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, has stated that, if the international community does not punish Iraq, Iran will. In other words, it is a question of a 'war to a victorious conclusion.'

"As Iranian President S.A. Khamene'i said recently, 'the fighting has reached a critical point, and the countdown to the final offensive against the Iraqi regime is under way.' Consequently heavy fighting, mountains of corpses and ruined equipment, explosion-scorched land, and fresh portraits of 'shahid' displayed in prominent places are again in prospect. But such statements have frequently been made before, and yet the war is now in its 7th year..."

The third item on PRAVDA's page is an unattributed background report entitled "Our Information," accompanied by a map of the war zone, which reads as follows:

"The Islamic Republic of Iran is located in the southwest part of Asia. Its territory covers 1.648 million square km. Its population numbers around 44 million people, who are on the whole Shi'ite Muslims. According to the constitution, the supreme state official and spiritual leader of the Muslim community is Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi-Khomeyni.

"The Republic of Iraq is Iran's western neighbor. Its territory covers 435,000 square km. Its population numbers 15 million, who are in roughly equal parts Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims. The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party holds office. The president is Marshal Saddam Husayn.

"Relations between the two states have been overshadowed more than once in the past by mutual accusations and the unresolved nature of border problems bequeathed from colonial times. One such is the demarcation of the boundary along the Shatt al-'Arab river formed by the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

"Iran and Iraq signed a treaty on the borders and on good-neighborly relations in Algiers on 6 March 1975. Under this treaty the border was henceforth to run not along the eastern (Iranian) bank of the Shatt al-'Arab but along the Thalweg—the center of the deepest part of the channel. In exchange Iran stopped supporting Kurdish insurgents operating on Iraqi territory.

"After the Shi'ite clergy came to power in Iran in 1979 the ideological and political differences between the two states were exacerbated. By mid-1980 a marked deterioration in bilateral relations had occurred. On 4 September it was announced in Baghdad that Iranian artillery had shelled Iraqi territory. There were frequent armed border engagements during the following days. On 17 September Iraq denounced the Algiers Treaty, and on 22 September its troops went on the offensive.

"During the first stage of hostilities Iraqi units penetrated deep inside Iranian territory. Then for a long period the war became positional in nature. From the spring of 1982 the operational situation began to change, and by the end of June the front already ran virtually along the state border. Two years on, as a result of a major offensive north of the Iraqi port of Basra, the Iranian army managed to penetrate enemy territory in the area of the Huwayzah marshes and, in February this year, to seize the city of Faw, located on the peninsula of that name."

The fourth and final item in the feature is a Vladimir Peresada "Observer's Opinion" entitled "Extinguishing a Center of Conflict," which reads as follows:

"The Iran-Iraq war has become the bloodiest crisis situation in the world since the American aggression against Vietnam. The scale and bitterness of the fighting can be judged from the number of casualties, which, according to figures reported by the world press, stands at around 1 million. Material losses are also huge: Dozens of cities, thousands of villages, and numerous factories and plants have been devastated. Both countries have thrown tens of billions of dollars into the military expenditure cauldron.

"The war is justly seen in the world as fratricidal and senseless. Indeed, it has been waged for more than 6 years now by two neighboring states which have similar stances on many foreign policy questions and which have essentially the same national tasks to resolve on the domestic plane. Weakening Iran and Iraq and slowing down their development, the war is fundamentally at odds with the interests of both countries' peoples.

"The protracted conflict gravely destabilizes the situation in that vast geographical region. It threatens the security of other states in the Persian Gulf, and international shipping there has already come under attack. During the so-called 'tanker war' in the Persian Gulf, which was launched by Iran and Iraq in an endeavor to increase the economic damage caused to each other, more than 150 ships were attacked. Disagreements among Arab states have intensified as a result of the conflict,

since some of them support Baghdad and others Tehran. This center of acute armed confrontation also has an adverse effect on the international situation as a whole.

"The answer to the question 'Whom does it benefit?' is not in doubt: It serves those who have an interest in even greater exhaustion of Iran and Iraq and further exacerbation of tension in the Near and Middle East. For this reason the dragging out of the conflict has become a strategic goal of Israel, where, according to NEWSWEEK, 'they would like it to last around another 30 years.' And, naturally, Washington is banking on the 'endless' nature of the war. The secret supplies of American weapons to Iran were a manifestation of that calculation. Despite the Washington administration's attempts to 'justify itself,' it is clear that the supplies were, from the outset, designed to inflame the conflict. The intensity of the situation provides Washington with an argument for maintaining major naval forces near the Persian Gulf and makes it easier to carry out a 'divide and rule' policy in that strategically important and oil-rich region.

"Many international organizations have for a long time now offered to mediate with the aim of channeling the conflict toward a peaceful settlement. There are relevant UN Security Council resolutions on precisely this score. However, it has not proved possible as yet to put diplomatic means into motion. What is primarily needed for this, of course, is political will on the part of both sides in the conflict.

"As for our country's stance, the Soviet Union has resolutely warned the United States against interference and has consistently advocated an end to the war and a settlement of disputes around the negotiating table. This stance has been communicated both to Tehran and Baghdad. In supporting international efforts directed toward peace our country is helping practically to extinguish this dangerous center of war."

/9604

CSO: 1807/117

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

MOSCOW TELEVISION PROGRAM ASSAILS U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY

LD171053 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1610 GMT on 9 December carries a 50-minute program entitled "The Eastern Syndrome" presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov with footage from the USSR Central State Archive of Cinephotodocuments and Foreign Newsreel Materials.

Over video of bazaars, deserts and people gathering at the call of the muezzin, Seyful-Mulyukov summarizes the history of Arabia, saying that NATO now adopts the principle of divide and rule in the Gulf in the striving to plunder the oil wealth of the East, whereas the Gulf states joined OPEC to defend their interests. The video shows scenes from the modern oil-producing countries in the Gulf, comparing ESSO and Distrol installations with scenes of oil shaykhs negotiating.

Seyful-Mulyukov comments: "Half a century ago an enterprising American, (Lloyd Harrison), purchased oil exploration rights from the Saudi king. And since then the holy places of Islam have been declared by Washington to be a zone of U.S. vital interests, all this under the guise of defending freedom and democracy. At a press conference in the White House Ronald Reagan said: "The most difficult thing I have to do in my job is to order those wonderful young men in military uniform to set out far across the seas and oceans. But this has to be done, in the interests of our national security. By virtue of its significance for the free world the Near East is the place where war could start. We cannot stand aside from the events taking place there." Video shows Reagan press conference, followed by shots of U.S. warships, GI's in action in various countries including Lebanon, with background music of the marines' hymn. Seyful-Mulyukov adds: "U.S. warplanes are flying to the oil-soaked shores. Imperial ambitions, claims on the wealth and land of others--the chronic syndrome of imperialist policy." Video shows footage of action, civilians fleeing, killed and wounded being taken away, over soundtrack of bombing, screams and ambulance sirens.

He notes that U.S. troops were sent to Beirut in 1984 as peace-keeping troops, and that the United States was aided in this by the Israelis, who described it as a peace operation. "Beirut became a testing-ground for U.S. militarists, too: Reagan's doctrine of low-intensity conflicts in the nuclear age was tried for the first time in Lebanon. Under the guise of the struggle against terrorism the White House arrogated the right to pass judgment on other peoples," he says while video shows man on telephone, followed by

footage of U.S. military training men to use weapons. He adds: "It is here in the CIA that the bloody threads of the little dirty wars being waged by U.S. imperialism in the Near East and Central America, Angola and Afghanistan, come together. When the U.S. troops left Lebanon experts in provocation remained. Agents of the CIA and the Israeli intelligence service Mossad are at the source of the Lebanese tragedy: It is they who are inflaming the bloody feuds between the Christians and Muslims, Shi'ites and Sunnis, Lebanese and Palestinians."

Video shows fighting in Beirut, followed by weeping women at gravesides, and scenes from Sabra and Shatila, footage of the dead lying in the streets, followed by newsreel clips of Israeli leaders, and clip of a group of Palestinian women, with children playing, as Seyful-Mulyukov observes: "What a terrible price the Palestinians paid for believing the U.S. peace-makers," and recounts similar scenes in Hitler's death camps, over archive footage of concentration camps and gas chambers. "But the blood of the victims of fascism does not stop the Israeli rulers. Fascism and Zionism have the same ideology of misanthropy, and the very same methods," he remarks, adding that in the last 25 years the Israelis have destroyed Arab villages and desecrated Muslim holy places in the occupied territories.

In a recording of an interview in Damascus with Syrian President Al-Asad, Seyful-Mulyukov asks: "How do you see the political ways of unblocking the conflict situation in the Near East?" Al-Asad replies: "Syria supports the USSR's proposals on issues concerning a Near East settlement. They are in accord with the initiatives of the Arab countries. The problem consists in the fact that the United States and Israel reject all these proposals."

Mulyukov recounts the history of Al-Sadat's rule and his promises to liberate Arab Jerusalem, video shows footage of his assassination. Millions of Arabs, Mulyukov says, could not forgive Al-Sadat his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Mulyukov continues: "The stormy backlash of the many-faceted Islamic movement in this whole region alarmed the West. A multitude of books, theories and formulas appeared there on how to make use of the Islamic factor in the interests of imperialist policy. Thus, let a holy war be waged against the Soviet Union and the progressive forces in the Near and Middle East. For even Kermit Roosevelt, the well-known CIA agent, who organized the overthrow of Mosaddeq, prime minister of Iran, in the early fifties, and prepared the assassination of Egyptian president Al-Nasir, set up close links with the Muslim Brotherhood. This organization is still operating today. This fanatical organization acts under the banner of Islam against progressive changes." Video shows Syrian trial of the Muslim Brotherhood, film of interview with the Syrian grand mufti, and footage of Iranian soldiers as Mulyukov says: "Iran is boiling up, as if a gigantic spring would up tight by these waves of religious fanaticism has broken free." Children are sent to the front, the whole nation is under arms, and women

learn to fight, he notes as veiled women are shown learning to use weapons, and young men are seen going to the front in tears. "The Iranians and Iraqis continue to kill one another. In this fratricidal war, there can be no victor," he remarks while video shows scenes of bodies at the front, and women and families mourning.

Seyful-Mulyukov next considers Afghanistan where, he says, CIA agents are fomenting subversion, training rebels to blow up schools and kill children, under the banner of Islam. Video shows recanting rebel, and Reagan in conversation with a rebel leader. He adds: "The enemies of Afghanistan have killed more than 200 mullahs and ulemas, many of them directly in the mosques."

Over video of broadcasting stations, Mulyukov says: "In Kabul and Beirut I frequently listened to foreign radio: radio voices from Munich, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, also reached there--the centers of lies, slanders and psychological subversion. They shed crocodile tears over the mythical woes of the Soviet Muslims, about the extinction of the centers of Islam in Central Asia, about the struggle of the mujahidin and the dushmans in Afghanistan. And not a word about Sabra and Shatila, about Lebanon and Ansar, about the bloody terror of the dushmans in Afghanistan, about the atrocities of the Israeli and U.S. interventionists on Arab land. Radio Liberty is the creation and mouthpiece of the U.S. CIA: This is who published all these fabrications and falsehoods. And the people who broadcast from Munich to the Muslims are betrayers of their motherland and fascist hangers-on. These shadows of the past with Muslim names are in the pay of the U.S. intelligence service." Mulyukov enumerates, over shots of documents and photographs showing Nazi officers in uniform, those now working for those imperialist radio stations who have been proven, he says, to have a fascist past. "For these puppets, the Islamic religion is merely a screen for psychological war: They go off into the other world in foreign parts, where and how they can. Socialism has no need to array itself in religious garb in order to attract millions of people, including believers, to building a new world, a world without exploitation of man by man, a world without violence and wars. At the same time the first country of socialism was attentive to the religious feelings of believers and the customs of the Muslims of Russia and the East. Support for the sacred right of peoples themselves to determine their own fate: Such is our consistent course. But when the White House declares itself to be the defender of Islam from unbelievers, the friend of the Muslim peoples, and sends warships, aircraft carriers and bombers to kill the women and children of Lebanon and Libya, this is a manifestation of the imperialist policy of neoglobalism, the typical policy of colonizers," Mulyukov comments.

Video shows the U.S. raid on Libya which, he says, "the aggressors described as a surgical operation, and sent 100 warplanes on piratical raids against the civilian towns and population of Libya. In the United States the killers of Libyan children and women were greeted like heroes." Video shows children in hospital, maimed and wounded, and welcome afforded to U.S. bombers after Libyan raid, followed by clip of a Lebanese child singing a song begging for peace and childhood.

While video shows peace demonstrations in cities, Seyful-Mulyukov concludes:
"People on all continents are marching in columns of millions, in defense
of freedom, justice and peace." Video fades out on waving banners and
crescendo of peace songs, trumpet fanfares and drum rolls.

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CSO: 1807/110

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SOLIDARITY, MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY URGED FOR ARAB LEAGUE

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian for 25 December 1986 carries on page 5 a 1000-word "opinion of a political observer" by Konstantin Geyvandov. He discusses the problem of a Middle East settlement and the question of the Palestinians and blames the United States and Israel for the problems and tensions in the region. Geyvandov then turns his attention to the special session of the council of ministers of foreign affairs of the Arab League, which was held in Tunis in early December. The League "condemned the Israeli leadership", he says, and "turned to world public opinion" to call for an end to Israeli aggression.

"No, this was not the sort of decision of the highest organs of the Arab League which Arab public opinion expects," Geyvandov continues. "The situation urgently demands a surmounting of inter-Arab disagreement in order to give an effective rebuff to the encroachment of the American-Israeli partners on the independence and dignity of the Arab peoples. A common danger hangs over the Arab countries. There can be no illusions about this. Under the current conditions in the Arab world, a feeling of solidarity and collective responsibility must prevail, not secondary friction and internecine strife."

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CSO: 1807/106

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ISRAELI, PALESTINIAN BLAME OCCUPATION FOR WEST BANK PROTESTS

PM231330 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 86 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Glukhov report: "The Root of All Evil"]

[Text] Lebanon--Mass disturbances in the occupied Arab territories are now in their second week, taking in the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. The protest demonstrations are not subsidizing, despite cruel repressions.

It is the occupation which is the root of all the evil, the well-known Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer stated in an interview with the BBC. I am defending the second generation of Palestinians fighting against the Israeli occupation. They have not become reconciled to it, and are fighting by any means available.

The present flare-up of demonstrations, N. Hawatimah, leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], said in a talk with me, indicates the failure of the so-called "iron fist" policy pursued by Tel Aviv. The aggressors cannot break the Palestinian people's resolve. The resistance movement, which has once again shaken the occupying regime, has taken on an especially wide scale, uniting various forms of struggle.

The mass Palestinian demonstrations, the DFLP leader went on, are taking place under the flag of the struggle for independence and against the Israeli occupation. They reflect the desire for the unity of the Palestinian resistance movement, support for the PLO, and alarm over the use of "camp warfare" in Lebanon by the forces of imperialism and Zionism in order to weaken the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movement. These actions clearly demonstrate the Palestinians' refusal to adopt capitulatory decisions.

The disturbances on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, N. Hawatimah noted, once again show that without resolving the Palestinian problem it is impossible to stabilize the situation in the region and settle the Near East conflict. Hence the particular topicality of the Soviet initiatives on convening an international conference on the Near East and creating a preparatory committee for this purpose.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OPENS IN DRA CAPITAL

LD210419 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Dec 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] By a decision of the DRA Government, the country's first Islamic university is being opened in Kabul.

In the streets here, as everywhere in the Orient, one always sees people with rosary beads; the culture of the Afghan people, its history and contemporary life are all connected with Islam. On Fridays, which is a non-working day in Afghanistan, patriotically-minded mullahs deliver sermons about what is happening at the moment in the country and about what the Democratic Republic is doing for the man in the street. They talk to the believers about the revolution and how to assist it. For many illiterates, this is the only place where they get true information. It is no accident that enemies inflict cruel reprisals on servants of the faith who cooperate with the people's government. The dushmans have murdered more than 2,000 mullahs.

Mawlawi Zarif, the former governor of Balkh Province and a man who is extremely popular among the people, was recently appointed minister for Islamic Affairs. His destiny is like that of thousands in this country in which a cruel undeclared war is being waged. Together with his sons, he fought against the dushmans, raising the soldiers' battlefield morale with his fiery words. He was his youngest son, a member of the Democratic Youth Organization. [video shows Kabul street scenes]

Every day, this building housing the Ministry of Islamic Affairs is visited by hundreds of people. They come here on public and private business, to talk about life, about their affairs and problems.

[Zarif, identified by screen caption] For 16 years I worked as a school-teacher. I was appointed minister 2 months ago on the decision of the revolutionary government. The objective of all patriotic religious figures in Afghanistan is to defend the gains of the April Revolution. The enemies are fighting under the banner of Islam and people unfamiliar with them follow the dushmans blindly. We need to talk more with the people and use Islam for good purposes. By decision of the government we are opening an Islamic

university, which will become a university of life. We hope that we will be able to serve the Afghan people and revolution even better and raise its banner for a new life and an end to the fratricidal war. [video shows Zarif sitting in his office, speaking into camera]

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MARCH 6, 1987